THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

IT was stated in the April *Quarterly Statement* that the whole question of excavation and exploration in the Turkish Empire was under consideration at the Porte. Nothing definite has yet been published. As it seems useless to wait for the new regulations, which may be delayed a long time, the Committee have decided upon immediately undertaking another part of their original programme.

An expedition will therefore be attempted for the autumn of this year, in order to effect the Geological Survey of Western Palestine. In October we hope to announce the formation of the party and the programme in full of the proposed work, its objects, the problems which it is sought to solve, and the Biblical aspect of the undertaking, with an estimate of the probable work of the journey.

Captain Conder has now returned to the service of the Committee, and is at work upon his Memoirs of the Eastern Expedition. He has also completed his book called "Heth and Moab," which contains a popular account of that expedition. This will be published in October, uniform with "Tent Work in Palestine," but in one volume instead of two.

Captain Conder writes (22nd June): "In the account of the siege of Philadelphia, or Rabbath Ammon, by Antiochus the Great, in 218 B.C., as noticed by Polybius (v, 17), it is mentioned that a communication with the water supply outside the citadel had been made by a long subterranean passage, and that the citadel was only reduced when this was discovered to Antiochus by a prisoner. It seems to me that this is explained by a discovery which, as far as I have been able to find, was a new one, and due to the recent Survey. In examining the tombs and caves on the north side of the town I lit upon the entrance to a very large rock-cut reservoir, some 30 feet deep. The cave door was almost on the level of the roof, and a steep slope, with a few rude rock-cut steps, led down. I made a plan and sketch, which will appear in the "Memoirs." Just inside the entrance,

THE SLOPES OF CARMEL.

I HAVE recently had occasion to ride through the oak woods which cover the low range of hills that divide the Wâdy el Melek from the Plain of Esdraelon. Notwithstanding the excellent work which has been done by the officers of the Palestine Exploration Fund, it was only to be expected that in so large a forest there should have been objects of interest which have escaped their observation, and which do not appear upon the map—upon which, however, the bye-paths are laid down with such admirable accuracy, as give ample evidence of the care which has been bestowed upon the Survey.

Starting from the village of Semunieh (on the Haifa and Nazareth road), and riding due north, we come, at a distance of about three-quarters of a mile from that village, to a point where the paths bifurcate. On the right are rocky mounds, covered with trees, and where caves and cisterns abound. Here in some instances I found the stone lids still standing untouched on the loculi which had been hewed from the living rock, indicating that the mortal remains within have been undisturbed to the present time. Following the right-hand path, I came, about half-a-mile further on, to a clump of ancient trees, and at their base were six fragments of prostrate columns, some of them 8 and 10 feet long, with their capitals, together with some blocks of stone, on one of which were the traces of an inscription; but they were so filled with lichen as to be undecipherable, and I had no time to scrape them out, or materials with which to make a squeeze. These trees are called by the natives, "Ashasharat el 'Arais, or the "trees of the Bridegroom," a name which would suggest some connection with the early Baal worship. The probability is, that the columns formed part of a temple or shrine dedicated to rites of a kindred nature, which succeeded to it; a little more than half a-mile beyond, I reached a mound covered with ruins, in which were numerous caves and cisterns. The largest cave contained three chambers, with loculi, but there was none of the coloured ornamentation which characterise those of Sheikh Abreik. In some cases the entrances were carved, as were also the lids of the loculi. In one a subterranean passage led to the mouth of a circular pit about 10 feet in diameter, and as many in depth, on the edge of which I found the handle of an ancient vase. The Arabs with me told me that in one of these caves they had found three bottles of red glass, which, as they contained nothing, they had broken. This mound was called Yissy. Between it and the road leading from Ailût to Beit Lahm is another ruin-clad mound called Hamiz, on which, besides the huge blocks of carved stone of which the walls of the ancient town had been composed, were several sarcophagi; a little beyond the mound, and on the side of the Ailût and Beit Lahm road, were five fragments of prostrate columns, and in an inscription on one I distinctly made out the letters IMP. AUR., which would fix the date as that of the reign of the Emperor Aurelian. I also visited a

spot in the depth of the forest between Umm el Amed and Harithiyeh, where "caves and cisterns" is marked in the map, the name of which is Mizrie, and where the ruins seemed sufficiently interesting to repay further investigation. It is also worthy of note that within the last two years, and therefore since the visit of the Palestine Fund Surveyors, excavations have been in progress at Sepphoris, or Sefurieh, beneath the ruined church, which is supposed to mark the site of the dwelling of Joachim and Anna, the parents of the Virgin. These excavations, which are being carried on by the Franciscans, have now been temporarily suspended for want of funds, and the fallen *débris* prevented my entering what I was assured by the priest was a subterranean chapel or crypt, in which were some fragments of handsome columns. Some of those which have been unearthed are now enclosed by the wall forming the new courtyard to the church, which is slowly undergoing a process of restoration; some of these were prostrate, and some standing to a height of 10 or 12 feet. Altogether I counted twelve, with several capitals and pediments. It is not impossible that remains or objects of interest, of a period anterior to the church, which only dates from the fourth century, may be found in the course of the present operations; at all events, the progress of the excavations, when they are renewed, will be worth watching.

LAURENCE OLIPHANT.

HAIFA, 29*th May*.

THE MEETING OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

THE Annual Meeting of the General Committee was held on Tuesday, June 19th, at 4 p.m. The chair was taken by Mr. JAMES GLAISHER, F.R.S.

The minutes of the last meeting having been read, the following Report was read by the Secretary.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"Your Committee, elected at the last General Meeting, held on June 17th, 1882, have, on resigning their office, to render you an account of their administration during the past year.

"The Committee have held nine meetings during the year.

I.

"On August 1st, 1882, Lieutenant Mantell, one of the officers of the Survey, was recalled to active service in Egypt, and on September 7th Captain Conder was also ordered on service. The Committee were thus deprived of the services of both officers, and the preparation of the Memoirs of the Survey of Eastern Palestine, so far as it has been accomplished, was interrupted. Lieutenant Mantell still remains in Egypt, and although Captain Conder returned home at the end of the war, it was

found necessary for him to take sick leave for a few months. On the expiration of his leave he has rejoined the Society, and is now actively engaged in completing his 'Memoirs.' The portion of the map executed by him has been laid down upon sheets of the same shape as that of the large map of Western Palestine, and also engraved on the reduced scale. Captain Conder has completed a popular work on his last expedition, called 'Heth and Moab,' which is now being printed. It is hoped that the 'Memoirs' will be finished, and the book ready, in the autumn. The form of publication of the former has yet to be decided.

II.

"The issue of the 'Survey of Western Palestine' has also been retarded by the recent events in Egypt. The departure of Professor Palmer at the end of June, followed by his unfortunate murder in August, kept back the last volume of 'Memoirs,' which we, however, published in April last; and the summoning of Colonel Warren to go out in search of the murderers has delayed the Jerusalem volume, which is now again taken in hand. This volume, with its portfolio of plates and plans, and that of Canon Tristram on the 'Flora and Fauna,' will complete the work, which has been in course of publication such a length of time.

III.

"The maps to illustrate the Old and New Testaments, consisting of names and tribe boundaries, &c., laid down upon our Survey maps by Mr. Trelawney Saunders, are now published, in addition to the reduced modern map, and the same with the water-basins laid upon it. It is under consideration by the Committee whether the part of Eastern Palestine already surveyed shall not be added to their small maps.

IV.

"The survey of Eastern Palestine has been necessarily deferred until the Firman has been signed. The Committee see little reason to expect that they will obtain this permission at present. They propose, therefore, to undertake, without further delay, the geological survey which forms a part of the original prospectus of the Society. Practical suggestions have been made by Sir Charles Wilson, and negotiations have been opened with a geologist of great eminence. If the expedition can be arranged it is proposed to send it out in the month of November, and to secure, if possible, four or five months of steady work.

V.

"The following is the Balance Sheet of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1882:—

RECEIPTS.

1882.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.—Balance brought forward	112	11	7
Dec. 31.—Subscriptions and Lectures.. ..	1,993	4	2
„ Maps and Memoirs	1,577	11	11
„ Books..	97	13	6
„ Photographs..	14	16	11
	£3,795	18	1

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.—Exploration	889	4	9
„ Maps and Memoirs	1,372	16	11
„ Salaries and Wages, Rent, Advertising, Stationery, Bookbinding, Office and Sundries, Books and Translations	644	2	3
„ Lecture expenses	45	17	3
„ Postage..	88	10	11
„ Printing	391	12	0
„ Balance	363	14	0
	£3,795	18	1

Examined and found correct.

W. MORRISON,
Treasurer.

"It will be seen, therefore, that the Committee spent during the year the sum of 3,432*l.*, of which management took 21 per cent.; the maps and 'Memoirs' 40 per cent; on exploration (there being no party in the field) 27 per cent.; and on printing and posting of the *Quarterly Statement* about 12 per cent.

VI.

"The Committee have published during the year, besides the third volume of 'Memoirs,' a Report of the Princes' Visit to the Holy Land (Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales), and the Survey and Plan of the Mosque of Hebron, executed by Sir Charles Wilson and Captain Conder, assisted by the Princes. This Report (drawn up by Captain Conder) was presented to the Committee for publication by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. A paper has been published on the Climate of Jerusalem, by Dr. Chaplin, embodying the result of twenty-two years' observation, viz., from 1860 to 1881, both inclusive. Papers in the

Quarterly Statement have also appeared on the Route of the Exodus, on the Fellahin of Palestine, and on many topographical and archæological points of interest. To the writers of these papers, especially to Dr. Chaplin, Canon Scarth, the Rev. W. F. Birch, and Captain Conder, the Committee beg to offer their best thanks.

VII.

"The Committee have had to deplore the loss by death during the past year of three most valuable members of their body. The first of these is Professor Pusey, who never ceased to take the deepest interest in the work, and to support it by donations, as well as by his personal influence. The next is Lord Talbot de Malahide, an active member of the General Committee. The third is Professor Palmer, whose loss to this Society, as well as to Oriental scholarship, is irreparable.

VIII.

"The Committee have, lastly, to convey their best thanks to their Local Honorary Secretaries, to all their subscribers and donors, and especially the Bishop of Nelson, the Rev. W. MacGregor, Rev. C. Watson, Rev. H. Hall-Houghton, Rev. F. C. Wigram, Rev. M. T. Farrar, Colonel Locock, Rev. A. M. Morrison, Rev. J. Bellamy, the Rev. G. Maxwell, Mrs. Guise, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Burns, 'Omega,' Mrs. Greenwood, Mr. G. S. Gibson, Mr. C. F. Fellows, Lady Smith, Mr. S. H. Officer, Mr. A. W. Jones, Mr. Beamont, Mr. A. H. Heywood, Mr. Dunkley Paine, Mr. Kent, Miss Wakeham, Miss Bridges, Mr. H. N. Middleton, who have sent donations of 5*l.* and over.

IX.

"One of the members of the Executive Committee, Major Grover, has resigned, he having been sent to Portsmouth. His place has been taken by Colonel Locock, R.E. Lord Sidmouth has also joined the General Committee."

The Report having been read and discussed, it was proposed by Lord Sidmouth, and seconded by Mr. Henry Maudslay, that it be received and adopted.

This was carried unanimously.

It was then proposed by Dr. Wright, and seconded by Dr. Löwy, and carried unanimously, that the following gentlemen be invited to join the General Committee:—

Rev. J. N. Dalton.
Mr. Donald MacDonald.
Sir Edmund Lechmere, Bart.
Rev. Canon Scarth.
Professor Robertson Smith.
Lieut.-Colonel Stodart, R.E., Director of the Ordnance Survey.

It was then proposed by the CHAIRMAN, and seconded by Dr. GINSBURG, that Lieut.-Colonel SIR CHARLES WILSON, K.C.M.G., R.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., should be invited to rejoin the Executive Committee.

A vote of thanks to the CHAIRMAN completed the business of the Committee.

CURIOUS NAMES IN GALILEE.

THE study given to the nomenclature of the Survey has probably by this time almost exhausted the identifications which can be made from it, though from time to time a new and unexpected light may be thrown on Biblical topography by the map. Thus, for instance, the unknown Meroz (Judges v, 23) might perhaps be recognised in the 'Ayûn er Roz close to Kedesh of Issachar, south of Lejjûn (Sheet VIII, Mk), or at 'Ain er Roz (Mj), north of Lejjûn. And, again, Bethshemesh of Naphtali (Josh. xix, 38) is possibly the ruin Shemsîn, east of Tabor (Sheet VI, Qr); while Sheikh Kâsim (Sheet IX, Qj) is a not impossible site for Shahazimah (Josh. xix, 22).

It is, however, in the present paper proposed to glance at various names which, though not directly connected with Biblical topography, are yet perhaps indicative of the ancient condition of the country, and especially at those in the northern sheets of the map, of which five (Sheets I–IV and VI) were surveyed under Lieutenant Kitchener's direction, and the nomenclature translated by the late Professor Palmer, some of whose valuable notes are very suggestive to a student of Arab nomenclature.

Take, for instance (Sheet I, Nc), 'Ain Ib'al, "the Spring of Baal," a village in the Tyrian hills, evidently an old Baalath. Or Sheikh Kâsim, north of Tyre, who, as Professor Palmer himself pointed out, is the Semitic god of "fate," the Phœnician Reseph, whose name M. Clermont Ganneau recognises in Arsûf (Apollonia), near Jaffa. Again, near Tyre (Sheet I, Me), Professor Palmer sees in Malkîyeh (a modern village) the name of Melcarth, the Hercules of Tyre, who is also recognisable as Neby Ma'shûk, "the prophet loved by women." And, had he been spared, the great Arab scholar would no doubt have added many other such interesting notes; for in Galilee especially Pagan and Phœnician influence is so marked that more of the Canaanite nomenclature may be expected to survive than further south.

On Sheet II (Pb) there is a very interesting spring named 'Ain Abu Sudûn. It is below a certain ruin called Juneijil, which is probably an old Gilgal. The name Poseidon has been thought by some scholars to be of Phœnician origin, and to signify "the great father of fishing" (or of Sidon), and if this be a really reliable derivation it is instructive to find close to Phœnician territory a Gilgal or "circle" where the name still seems to linger.

'Almân, close by this last, is an ancient Oulam of the Talmudic boundary

of Phœnicia (see "Handbook to the Bible," p. 304). There is another place of the name in Lower Galilee (Sheet IX, at top), and it is possible that both derive their name from the Phœnician deity called Oulam, or "eternal," and also Baal Haldim, or "the everlasting lord." It should also be noticed that Khuldeh is a name applying to several places in Galilee, in Philistia, and elsewhere. It is identical with the Phœnician Haldim, and has the same meaning of "enduring." This name seems a curious one to apply topographically, but like Baal, or Kadesh, or any other title derived from local worship, it is most easily explained (as is also Oulam, "the "eternal") as being a survival of the name of the local deity.

The *Ard Dufneh* (Sheet II, Rc), near Banias, represents the ancient Daphne. It is the "land of Dawn," connected with all the sacred sun temples which surrounded Hermon, "the great sanctuary," and the groves of Banias or Pan, whom modern mythologists seem to regard as representing the refreshing breeze which blows from the snowy mountain above Banias.

Haris is another important name in this connection, and occurs in Galilee and also in Samaria. The Cheres, or orb of the rising sun, is often mentioned in the Bible, and the Galilean town (Sheet II, Oc) stands on the highest part of the watershed, whence a fine eastern view is obtainable. In Samaria, Kefr Hâris represents the mediæval Caphar Cheres, the Mount Heres of the Bible, where Joshua was buried, and which the Jewish commentators render "village of the rising sun," and state to be so named because Joshua, who was here buried, had commanded the sun to stand still. Hâris is also a name of a mythical Arab sun hero.

El Khâlisah, "the pure," is another town name (Sheet II, Qc) connected with Paganism; for the ancient Arabs in Yemen had a famous temple of El Khâlisah at Tebala, which was called the Kaaba of Mecca (Pococke, "Hist. Arab," p. 106); and at Mecca, between the hills of Safa and Merwah, stood the stone sacred to El Khâlisah. In the fourth century the goddess Venus was worshipped at Elusa (El Khâlisah), in the Beersheba desert, and the "pure one" appears, therefore, to be a goddess (see Jerome's "Life of Hilarion").

The name *'Azziyeh*, applying to a ruin on this sheet (II, Qb) is also probably pagan. There are several other instances in the nomenclature, such as Khŭrbet 'Azîz (Sheet XXI) and 'Ozzîyeh (Sheet I). The radical meaning is "strong," "powerful," or "honoured," and it occurs in Hebrew in the well-known instance of the city of Azzah or Gaza. The demon Azazel derives his name from this root, and the modern Abd el Aziz is connected. The pagan Arabs adored a female divinity named 'Azzi, under the symbol of a thorn tree, and it is possibly from such a divinity that Gaza (the City of the Eight Gods) and other places of this name were called. El 'Azzi is mentioned in the Koran (Sura liii) as one of the goddesses of Mecca.

Neby es Saddîk (Sheet II, Oc) introduces us to another class of names common in Palestine. The word means "just," or "truthful," but it is specially used by the Jews to mean a Saint, or holy man. Thus one of the

best known Jewish tracts is called "the Graves of the Saddikim," and details a pilgrimage in Palestine by a pious Jew intent on visiting the graves of all the patriarchs and famous Rabbis, of whom so many lie buried round Tiberias and Safed. All the prophets called Saddik may be thought to have been Jewish Saints of the second to the seventh centuries, and these names are survivals of a very flourishing period, when the Sanhedrin had its headquarters in Galilee, and when the Mishna was being put in writing by the great Rab.

Kul'at el Tûfanîyeh (Sheet III, Nf) suggests a tradition which should be collected. It means "Castle of the Flood," and is the particular word used in Arabic especially to denote the universal deluge. *Bîr Yush'a* (Sheet IV, Qd) and *Neby Yush'a*, due east of the ruins of Kadesh Naphtali, suggest some reminiscence of Joshua's contest against the King of Hazor in Upper Galilee, but no such legend has as yet been collected. The Hummâm Benât Ya'kûb (IV, Re) seems to be connected with a tradition which consecrates the upper part of the Jordan to the "daughters of Jacob," and which is at least as old as the twelfth century.

It is also remarkable that there is another Mount Hermon on this sheet north of Kefr Bir'im, a very lofty hill with a spring of the same name ('Ain Haramûn) on the north-east (Sheet IV, Oe), and further south (east of Neby Sebelân) is Jebel ed Dô, "the mountain of light." These names, together with Mâlkîyeh, near Kadesh (where is a Roman sun temple), all show how widely spread the Phœnician sun worship must have been in Galilee.

Khŭrbet Fasil Dânial, "the ruin of the Judgment of Daniel" (IV, Ne), gives indications of another tradition not yet collected. *Khŭrbet Nuseibeh* (IV, Pe), like the Nusb 'Aweishîreh near Jericho (Sheet XVIII), and the Beit Nusîb of Judah (Sheet XXI), give evidence of the adoration of the "menhir" at the spot, concerning which much has lately been written. Professor Palmer himself understands the word in this sense, and it is found east of Jordan still applied to existing menhirs.

Majnûneh (Qd) and *'Ain el Jinn* (Pf), on the same sheet (IV), show the existing belief of the peasantry in enchantment. *Mughâret Sebelân*, "the Cave of Zebulon," indicates a legend connected with Neby Sebelân still to be collected; and the *Sheikh en Nettâh*, or "butter," shows the survival of a belief in some divinity with horns (Qc), who may be compared with the horned Neby Iskander (Sheet VIII), who is the legendary Alexander with ram's horns.[1] *Tell Abâlis* (probably corrupt for Iblis) indicates a legend which might be worth collecting (Sheet IV, Re). It is a large mound close to the Hûleh, and evidently supposed to be haunted by Iblis. *Wâdy Jehennum*, or "the Valley of Gehenna," is a curious name for the open valley west of Kadesh Naphtali. It may be connected with the sun temple here existing, and with the sunset or descent of the luminary on the west into the under world.

[1] This legendary "Alexander of the two horns" is mentioned in the Koran (Sura xviii), and in Persian literature.

Khŭrbet Mithilia (Sheet V, Zi) means, according to Professor Palmer, "the ruin of the image," from the Phœnician word, and thus perhaps indicates a pagan shrine. The modern names of the two rivers Belus and Kishon on this sheet are also interesting. The Kishon is called in the Bible the "ancient river," which should rather (according to Gesenius) be rendered "the river of battles," from the root Kadam "before," "fronting," "east;" the modern name is *Nahr el Mukutt'a*, which Professor Palmer renders "river of the cut up one." According to the dictionaries *Makt'a* means the "ford of a river," which is Dr. Thomson's translation of the Kishon name; but the double T makes the word quite different, and Professor Palmer's translation is no doubt authoritative. The name may have one of two derivations, either from a tradition (whether monkish or indigenous) of the slaughter of the priests of Baal at this stream by Elijah, or perhaps more probably from a legend of the slaughter of Adonis or Osiris, celebrated in Phœnicia at sacred rivers. The Belus, or river of Bel, is now called the Nahr Nam'ein, "the river of blood," and *Nam'ein* is the name of the Anemone, which was sacred to Adonis. It must not be forgotten that Neby Naaman is the name of a divinity in Philistia ("Memoirs," vol. iii, p. 316), and that the blood of Adonis in the Nahr Ibrahim, north of Beyrout, was believed by the Phœnicians to fertilise the lands of Byblos annually. It is possible that similar legends once clung to the Kishon and Belus, and are recognisable yet in their modern names. The purple of the Murex was also connected with the myth of Adonis, and the chief affluent of the Nahr Nam'ein is the valley called Halzûn—that is, the Chilzon or Murex.

'Ain Eyûb, at El Tâbghah, on the shores of the Sea of Galilee (Sheet VI, Qq), is an interesting name. I visited this "Spring of Job" in 1882, and found that it was certainly a sacred place, small offerings being here placed by the peasantry for the local divinity. The mill-owners on the spot were, however, unable or unwilling to give any legend of the spring.[1] *Hajr en Nemleh*, "the Ant's Stone," near Magdala, has also probably some legend attached, and these two might perhaps be collected by one of the numerous visitors who travel to this lake every year. *Hajr ed Dumm* and *Hajr el Muneik'a* (Sheet IV), the "Stone of Blood," and the "Stone of the Cup Hollow" are two dolmens of which I have elsewhere spoken more fully.

Another interesting circumstance on Sheet VI is the recurrence in several places of the name Cæsarea. *Kaisarîyeh* (Pg) and *Keishârûn* (Oh) are ruins on this sheet, and Wâdy Keisârîyeh is near the former. The reason is evident. They are survivals of the old Roman district name; for in the fourth century the episcopal town of Sepphoris was called Dio Cæsarea, and these ruins lie in the district of the same name.

Kul'at el Ghûl, "the Ghoul's Castle" (cf. Sheet XVII), shows the localising of a common superstition; but the *Kŭsr Bint el Melek*, or "House of the

[1] This name is probably connected with the story in the Koran of a spring which rose by divine command when Job struck his foot on the ground (Sura xxviii, 40, 41).

King's Daughter" (Sheet VI, Qh), on the cliff south-west of Tiberias, indicates a tradition not yet collected, and which it might be of interest to some future tourist to endeavour to record. *Merj es Sunbul*, "the meadow of the ears of corn," probably indicates a Christian tradition, localising the Gospel episode of plucking corn on the Sabbath (Matt. xii, 1–8).

Mughâîr el Kurûd (Qg) gives evidence of a local belief in the Kurûd, or monkey-like goblins, who are the terror of the belated Syrian peasant.

Sitti Sekinah (Qh), close to Tiberias, is a very interesting name, for it is the modern form of the Hebrew Shechinah. Like most of the sites round Tiberias it is no doubt of Jewish origin. And it is remarkable that on the plateau west of the lake is a place called *Mes-hah*, or "anointed;" for it is well-known that the Jews of Galilee believed that the Messiah would rise from the Sea of Galilee, an idea probably derived (as are so many in the Talmud) from the Persian eschatology, which represents the future prophet as rising from the eastern lake, or from the ocean.

It is curious also that Neby Shu'aîb, or Jethro, should have a shrine at Hattîn, and that the basalt cliffs to the south should be called Medînet el Aikeh, "the City of the Grove," which, as Professer Palmer points out, was the name of the city to which Jethro was sent, according to the Koran, to preach to its inhabitants. The localisation of Jethro no doubt led to the localisation of the City of the Grove, and we may perhaps find the origin of the idea in the Book of Judges; for Heber the Kenite was a descendant of Hobab, the father-in-law of Moses (Judges iv, 11), who is thus identified with Jethro (Num. x, 29). I have endeavoured to show, in "Tent Work in Palestine," that it was exactly in this plain of Hattîn, east of Tabor, that Heber and Jael pitched their tent, and the tradition of Jethro perhaps grew out of the old episode of the defeat of Sisera. In the Koran (Sura xxvi) the "City of the Grove" is said to have been in Midian; but the accompanying legend of Saleh, whose camel was houghed by the men of Thamud (Sura vii, 71), is also localised—not, as it should be, in Arabia, but in the Valley of Elah (see Sheet XXI), at the *Medhbah Nâket Saleh*. Neby Hud also (Sura vii, 63) is localised at El Yehûdîyeh, near Jaffa (Sheet XIII), and not among the Aclites, where he is said to have preached.

Birket Belâkîs (Sheet VII, Ib) is worthy of notice as preserving the traditional Arab name of Queen Zenobia, which also survives near Heshbon in "Zenobia's Garden." *Ezbûba* (Sheet VIII, Mk) is interesting as giving us the name of Baal Zebub in the plain of Esdraelon; and *Sheikh Meiser* (Sheet VIII, Kl) is also interesting as rendered by Professor Palmer, who connects it with a "certain gambling game with arrows." The same name applies to the shrine at Bethshemesh (Sheet XVII), and Meiser is there locally said to have been related to Samson. He is evidently the Arab god of fate, "the arrow holder," Hobal of Mecca—the same as the Phœnician Resheph; and the divining by arrows over which he presided, is mentioned in Ezekiel in connection with the King of Assyria (Ezek. xxi, 21). It was also a Jewish custom (Midrash Ekha Rabtah, 54, Midrash Koheleth, 116), and has been thought to be referred to in the history of David (1 Sam. xx,

19–40), and of Elisha (2 Kings xiii, 14–19); but in the Koran this custom is denounced.

The Galilean names thus briefly noticed give, when taken together, a very fair idea of the growth of nomenclature in Palestine. We have in all five classes represented. First, Biblical names. Secondly, Pagan titles, which recall the nomenclature of Phœnician sun worship. Thirdly, Jewish names of the later period, when Galilee was the centre of the Rabbinical teaching, and when the bounds of the Holy Land were defined with all the precision of the earlier Talmudic writings; when famous Saddikim were buried in all the principal villages, like Simeon bar Jochai at Meirûn. Fourthly, we have the Christian traditions of the fourth and twelfth centuries, localising round the Sea of Galilee the Gospel episodes, pointing out the "Table of Christ," "The meadow of the ears of corn," "The Mountain of the Sermon," the scene of the "Feeding of Five Thousand," and many other sites, in places often not in accordance with the Gospel narrative. Finally, we have the superstitions of the Fellahin in Moslem garb, the Jinns, the Goblins, the Iblis and Ghoul, which are figures traceable in the Accadian legends as far back as history itself.

Several valuable explanations are derivable from the above examination, showing how the Gazas, the Khuldehs, the Aulems, and such other names as have no proper topographical derivation, originated in the names of the local pagan deities. For Galilee was, until long after the Christian era, a land of Goin or pagans, who built sun temples at Kadesh and round Hermon, and preserved the rites of Adonis and Ashtoreth even down to the fifth century of our era. The nomenclature of the southern sheets of the map does not give us as much that is of this peculiar interest as do the Galilean sheets, and the principal names in Samaria and Judea have already been discussed in such papers as those on the Moslem Mukams, on Early Traditions, and on the nomenclature, which will be found in the volume of special papers of the "Memoir" series.

C. R. C.

MASONS' MARKS.

These marks, noted on buildings during the course of the Survey, have been carefully recorded in the "Memoirs;" and some remarks as to their dates have already been published in the paper on Architecture (vol. iii, p. 447). They include all the letters of the alphabet save G, Q, and X, and have no reference to position in the building, nor are they distinctive of a particular district, nor are they confined to the lifetime of an individual. It is, however, now proposed to study this question rather more fully in detail.

There are a few remains of masons' marks which are earlier than the twelfth century. Such are the letters on pillar shafts at Ascalon (vol. iii,

p. 240), which resemble Aramaic letters, and are not unlike marks on the flooring of the Sta Sophia at Constantinople. Such also are the Greek letters on the drafted stones at Baalbek, and those on pillar-bases at 'Ammân, both probably belonging to the second century, A.D.; but these are quite different from the great majority of masons' marks in Palestine, which belong to the twelfth century, and which closely resemble the marks in English cathedrals of the same period.

Sir Charles Warren has published some of the marks found on the castle at the port of Sidon (*Quarterly Statement*, 1870, p. 326), which are clearly Crusading; but others from Lebanon and Cœle-Syria (p. 328) seem to be earlier, perhaps Roman.

A very fine collection was obtained by Lieutenant Mantell and myself in Kal'at el Hosn, above Tripoli, in 1881, many of the marks being on drafted stones. The earliest mediæval building on which they would occur cannot date before 1100 A.D., the latest not after 1187 in Palestine, with exception of fortresses in the maritime plain, which, together with those in Northern Syria, were held till 1290 A.D. by the Christians.

The letters of the alphabet are not of any special interest. They may, perhaps, be the initials of the masons, and their shape is generally somewhat Gothic. There are, however, certain signs used quite as often as letters, which are interesting as being of great antiquity and widespread use.

Thus, for instance the Solomon's seal, or five-pointed star, is among the most common of the marks. It has been found on the vaulting of the so-called Stables of Solomon, at St. Jeremiah's of Abu Ghôsh, in the Muristan, in the Hosn Castle above Tripoli, and elsewhere. In the middle ages this was a well-known magic figure, and it may be regarded as a "luck-mark," like others which follow.

The six-pointed star is known, I believe, as "David's Shield," and is formed by two triangles. This is a caste mark in India of worshippers of Parvati, and is occasionally found as a mason's mark.

The Lituus is a very common mark among masons, and with regard to this it may be noted that it is found in the Sceptre of Osiris and of Siva, as well as among Druids and in Persia. It occurs at Jerusalem in the Church of the Virgin's Tomb, in the Muristan, at Neby Samwil, and in many other Crusading buildings.

The Trident is also common in the Muristan, at Samaria, and elsewhere, and it is identical with the caste mark of Vishnu, who answers in India to the Greek Poseidon with his trident. Whatever its original meaning it is a very old sacred emblem, and the fleur-de-lis, which is sometimes used as a mason's mark (though rarely), is said to have a common origin, and is traced back to the Assyrians as a religious emblem.

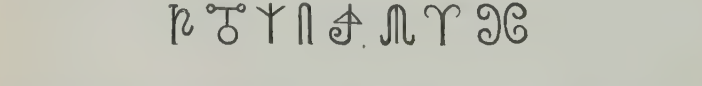
The hour-glass, or double triangle, is also found in a great many buildings in all parts of Syria (all of Crusading date), and is occasionally turned sideways, and converted into a Tau, or mason's hammer; for it should be observed that the position of the mark on the stone is not uniform in the case of any sign.

The arrow occurs in many varieties, of which the one with a triangular head is perhaps commonest. It is, perhaps, connected with our English broad arrow, and thus with the trident already noticed. The arrow or spear-head is also an Indian caste mark.

The Trefoil is also not unusual in various forms, and is said to be one of the letters of the Slav alphabet about the ninth century.

The square in several varieties is also suggestive of masonic meaning, as is the right-angled triangle, and the equilateral triangle, which is Siva's mark in India.

The Greek *Phi*, the fish, the bow and arrow, the circle (with or without a central dot), the palm-leaf, the cross (both Greek and Latin and Maltese) the mason's square, and the star, are marks which do not require any diagram, but all are frequently used.



The eight marks figured are not easy to describe. The first to the left is very common, and perhaps represents the crozier, or shepherd's crook, under a different form ; the second is nearly akin to the sign of the planet Venus; the third and sixth are forms of the trident; the seventh is the sign of Aries.

When we begin to inquire as to the meaning of these signs, and the reasons of their use by mediæval masons, we must remember how much Europe owed to Asia, at this time, of its science and mysticism. Magic was derived originally from the Magi, and the influence of the Jews and Arabs on the races of Southern Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries was specially marked. It is therefore very interesting to remark that masons' marks have been found on Sassanian buildings in Persia, many of the most complex of the mediæval signs being exactly the same as those on the walls of the palace of Saaditalat near Ispaham, as copied by Ouseley. The hour glass, the various forms of the trident, the bow and arrow, the cross even (a simple pair of lines of equal length), the arrow-head, and other marks are to be found among the Persian emblems. In this case we have, perhaps, a historical link between Europe and the far East. The masons' marks are generally too artificial for it to be naturally likely that they would be separately invented by different races ; and all the tendency of modern science has been towards the establishment of a direct historical connection between the early religious emblems and ideas of Asia, and the later mysticism of Europe.

We may, perhaps, safely infer that to the mediæval masons the marks they employed had descended as traditions, and that in some cases at least they were regarded as propitious emblems, or "luck-marks," although their original meaning had, perhaps, long been forgotten. A tradition of the meaning of many of these symbols, such as the bow, the trident, the arrow, the *phi*, the lituus, still lingers in India ; and may, perhaps, be known to

initiated masons in England, although to an outsider such titles as Solomon's Seal, the Mason's Hammer, &c., seem rather to indicate the loss of the true meaning.

It should be noted that masons' marks do not appear to have been used by the Jews, or in Byzantine times, or by the Arabs of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They thus serve in Syria to distinguish the work of the Crusaders, and the traveller who wishes to distinguish the somewhat similar structures of the later Christians and early Arab conquerors, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, will obtain in the discovery of masons' marks one of the most certain distinctions he can generally hope to find.

C. R. C.

HAMATH INSCRIPTIONS.

As everything touching on the decipherment of the new hieroglyphics must be of interest, I may perhaps venture to call attention to a comparison which struck me forcibly when, after seeing the Hamath stones in the museum at Constantinople, I had, in the same year, an opportunity of inspecting the very ancient wooden hieroglyphics from the tomb of Hossi preserved in the Boulak Museum at Cairo. These Egyptian hieroglyphics are in relief like the so-called Hittite texts, and some of the symbols at least appear to be identical.

The bull's head is a symbol on Hosi's tomb (as a hieroglyphic), and on the Hamath stone No. 3, or the Jerabîs text No. 3.

The antelope's head occurs also in each of three texts just quoted.

The bird in profile (the Egyptian Aleph) is also found on the Jerabîs inscriptions.

A pillar on a square base, found in the Hamath stones, occurs also at Sakkarah.

The knife blade, a common constituent of Egyptian hieroglyphic letters, is also found on the Hamath stones.

The head of Im-hotep, or Horus, with the finger to the mouth, is very frequently reproduced on the Hamath and Jerabîs stones.

The human foot, a well-known Egyptian symbol, is found on the longer inscription from Jerabîs.

The oval, which resembles the eye, is an Egyptian symbol, and seems to recur on Jerabîs No. 3, and in other cases.

The hand extended, or holding a dagger, is common on the Jerabîs and Hamath stones; on the tomb of Hossi, in Egypt, the extended hand is also a symbol.

The human head is found on Hamath stones and Sakkarah hieroglyphics.

The cross, not uncommon on the Hittite stones, may be connected with the Egyptian Ankh, or with the Assryian cross.

It may also be noticed, as cognate to the present subject, that some of

the emblems found on the brass plate obtained by M. Peretie from Palmyra (and which resemble closely the emblems found at Bavian over the king's head) are also identical with symbols on the Tomb of Hossi, or in the hieroglyphic text from Sakkarah, figured by Perrot, which appears also to be very ancient. One of the emblems of Bavian is also identical with one frequent on the Hamath and Jerabîs inscriptions; but the Bavian, with other Babylonian emblems, appear to symbolise the planets rather than to form inscriptions. Herodotus (II, 91 and 102) gives a curious account of a mark on the columns of Sesostris (now recognised by Professor Sayce as Hittite monuments), which the historian regarded as indicating derision of effeminate enemies. It seems possible that this mark is recognisable in the oval ring of the Hamathite inscriptions.

These remarks are offered with much diffidence, because it is possible that such comparisons have already been made by the learned authorities who have studied the Hamath inscriptions. It is, however, possible that a careful comparison of the Egyptian and Hittite symbols, by a scholar thoroughly conversant with hieroglyphics, might lead to interesting results, and if a cursory comparison leads to the identification of ten symbols as more or less intimately connected, longer study might, perhaps, give more definite indications. The Egyptians, like the Hittites, were an Asiatic people. They seem to have brought their system ready made with them when they entered the delta, and there is thus no *primâ facie* improbability in a common origin having existed for Hittite and Egyptian characters.

C. R. C.

THE NORTH BORDER OF ZEBULON.

The north boundary of Zebulon is one of the most difficult to draw of all the tribe borders. The southern line has been greatly elucidated by the Survey identifications of Nehallal, Sarid, Maralah, and Abez. On the north side the line has been indicated by the new sites for Hannathon, Neiel, Achshaph, and Beth Dagon, but it will be found (see "Handbook to the Bible," p. 268, 3rd edition) that Dabbasheth remains unknown. The verse in which this name occurs reads thus :—

"And their border went up towards the sea (or west) and (to) Mar'alah, and reached to Dabbasheth, and reached to the river (Nakhal) in face of Jokneam" (Josh. xix, 11).

It seems quite possible to understand that Dabbasheth is here mentioned as at the opposite extremity to the Kishon, or river facing Jokneam, and in this case it is to be sought on the north border. The latter is described in two verses of the same chapter (verses 14 and 27) as running from Hannathon (Kefr 'Anân) to the Valley of Jiphthah-el ("opened by God"), and again as going from Beth Dagon east to Zebulon (apparently, as in Josephus, also 2 "Wars," xviii, 9.; 3 "Wars," iii, 1, a town), and to the Valley

of Jiphthah-el towards the north of Beth Emek and Neiel, and going out on the left (*i.e.*, north) of Cabul. This description is not easy to follow, but it seems at length to be explained by the following seven identifications, three of which I proposed before 1879, and two new, but agreeing in a most remarkable manner with the rest. The list reads thus :—

Beth Dagon	*Tell D'aûk*, C.R.C.
Cabul	*Kabûl.*
Neiel	*Y'anîn*, C.R.C.
Beth Emek	*'Amka.*
Dabbasheth	*Dabsheh*, C.R.C.
Zebulon	*Neby Sebelân*, C.R.C.
Hannathon	*Kefr 'Anân*, C.R.C.

The new proposals are Dabbasheth and Zebulon, and no question can arise as to the exactness of the reproduction in the Arabic of the older name. The line is one which would not be expected, but its correctness is shown by the way in which it fits together details which have hitherto appeared irreconcilable. Thus, for instance, Beth Emek is so far north of Achshaph and Cabul, if placed at 'Amka, that it seemed hopeless so to identify it in spite of the identity of name, while Zebulon at Neby Sebelân is also north of Ramah of Naphtali, and Dabbasheth at Dabsheh (though evidently the names are identical) seemed equally out of place.

If, however, the reader will take Sheet I of the reduced map, or Sheets III, IV, V of the large map, he will, I think, soon become convinced of the exactitude with which the north boundary of Zebulon may now be laid down. It begins (on Sheet V) at the Belus river, which is the Shihor Libnath, or "river of glass" (Josh. xix, 26), mentioned as the south boundary of Asher. It is true that great confusion has arisen because some have placed Shihor Libnath much further south, led by the context, "and to Carmel westwards;"[1] but the best authorities agree that the Belus—the traditional site of the discovery of glass—is the true Shihor Libnath. Immediately east of its course is Tell D'aûk, which represents Beth Dagon, just as 'Ain Dûk represents the Dagon near Jericho, and thence we must draw the line "towards the daybreak" at the foot of the low hills north of Cabul, or Kâbûl. Two miles north and rather east of this latter is Y'anîn, which preserves all the radicals of Han Neiel with the change of the last L into N (as Beitin for Bethel, &c., &c.), and we thus reach the mouth of the gorge where Wâdy Sh'aib flows out west to meet Wâdy esh Shâghûr coming from the north.

Turning now to Sheet III, we find a long spur running up northwards from Wâdy esh Shâghûr towards the Kul'at et Tufaníyeh, or "Flood

[1] Apparently Carmel ha Yamah would mean properly "the western Carmel," or Carmel of the Sea, perhaps to distinguish it from Carmel in the tribe of Judah. I have, however, pointed out (see volume of "Special Papers," p. 229) that the Samaritans apply the name Carmel to the shore as far as Acre. The "Samaritan Chronicle" speaks of the frontier of Carmel as far as Accho.

Castle," which must retain some curious legend not yet collected. We have now to take into consideration the towns of Asher, which tribe here marches with Zebulon, and these include the following :—

Helkath	*Yerka.*
Hali	*'Alia*, C.R.C.
Beten	—
Achshaph	*Kefr Yastf*, C.R.C.
Alammelech	—
Amad	*El 'Amûd*, C.R.C.
Misheal	*in Wâdy Maisleh*, C.R.C.
Beth Emek	*'Amka.*

This list serves to confine our line on the westward side in a most definite manner, although Beten ("The Knoll") and Alammelech (God-King) are, unfortunately, still unknown. El B'aneh has been thought to represent the first, and is not absolutely forbidden by the line proposed (see N. f. Sheet III), which may have run up the hill by it. Alammelech was probably near Amad, far from the border, and as the Melek in question is very probably the Melkarth of Tyre, there may very likely be some reminiscence of the site in Wâdy M'ashûk, "Valley of the man beloved by women," which is the modern name (Neby M'ashûk) under which Melkarth now appears at Tyre (see Vol. III of "Memoirs," Appendix).

The general result of these considerations is the determination of the towns of Asher as lying in the plain or in the low hills, not more than 1,200 feet above the sea, whereas our boundary line, ascending northwards from Neiel (Y'anîn), is running on the high ridge about 500 feet above the Shephelah of Asher, and east of all the towns of that tribe. Skirting along the edge of the mountain district it passes Yanûh (Janohah), and reaches the ruin of Dabsheh, 2,060 feet above the sea (Sheet III, lat. 33°, long. 35° 15'). At this point we are looking down on the slopes which descend northwards into the great ravine of Wâdy el Kurn, and it is therefore quite natural that the border should pass east from this point. Thus, Dabbasheth, according to the new identification, stands exactly at the north-west corner of the tribe, and is therefore most appropriately mentioned as a border point in the earlier and more general description of the line.

From this point to Hannathon, which was at the north-east corner of the tribe line, we have only two names mentioned to guide us, but these are quite sufficient.

If we turn to Sheet IV, lat. 33°, we at once find, some two miles east of the sheet line, Neby Sebelân, which is a village enclosing the supposed Tomb of Zebulon, son of Jacob. We find also a long valley head, draining northwards from the ridge of Jebel Heider, and forming the true course of Wâdy el Kurn. This is one of the most considerable valleys in Galilee, well fitted to form a natural boundary line between two tribes. As regards these two places, I propose to recognise in Neby Sebelân not only (as I proposed in 1877) the town of Zebulon mentioned by Josephus, but also

the Zebulon of the passage in Joshua (xix, 27), which it seems almost impossible to consider as referring to the tribe boundary simply. Indeed, so much has this been felt, that some have proposed 'Abellîn as the site of Zebulon—an idea which hopelessly confuses all the topography, and which has philologically a great objection.

The identification of Zebulon leads us to suppose that Wâdy el Kurn is the valley called Jiphthah-el in the Bible, and the great precipices along its course, especially north of Dabbasheth, might well account for the name "Cloven by God;" but no remains of the old title seem recognisable, and this is the case in other instances, as I have had occasion often to point out. Shihor-Libnath, Mejarkon, Elah, Cherith, Kedron, and many other famous valleys of the Bible, are now known by other names, and in the case of Sorek and Jezreel, the Hebrew title adheres, not to the valley, but to the town whence perhaps the valley was named, just as the modern Wâdys are named from the villages.

Having thus far followed the line of important natural features, we are now able to finish our tracing without any difficulty to Hannathon (Kefr 'Anân); for Râmeh (Sheet IV, O. f.) is in all probability Ramath of Naphtali (Josh. xix, 35), and must therefore be excluded north of our boundary. It is clear, then, that we leave the high mountains of upper Galilee, and descend into the flat plain of the Shaghûr, following the foot of the southern slopes of the great Jebel Heider ridge.

If the reader will refer to my "Handbook of the Bible" (Map No. 5, p. 252, and p. 269), he will find that great doubt existed as to the borders of Asher, Naphtali, and Zebulon, and as to the place where these three tribes marched. Having fixed Hannathon and Neiel, it seemed natural to join these two points by a line along Wâdy Shâghûr, which seemed evidently to be the proper Jiphthah-el. But our knowledge is now extended by the discovery of Dabbasheth and of Zebulon, and we are thus able to recognise the old identification of Beth Emek as a true one, and to draw the line more accurately than before, but without changing a single previous identification save that of Jiphthah-el, which was merely a conjecture.

It has not been thought necessary to swell this paper by discussing the east and south borders of Zebulon (the western being the sea, and therefore unnoticed in the Bible). It may be noted that the Survey has indicated Hannathon, Nehallal, and Sarid, all very important points, while Neah is very probably *B'aineh*, which allows of the line being drawn from the Kishon to Tabor, and so north without any hesitation to Kefr 'Anân, thus coinciding with the natural lines of the country throughout the whole course. Dr. Grove's suggestion of Kefr Kenna for Kazin also appears to be confirmed by these investigations.

The new boundary gives another instance of the laws observable in the case of those traced for other tribes (*cf.* "Handbook," p. 270).

It is clear that the towns selected for notice in Joshua xix are so selected because they define the tribe boundaries. It is clear that the great natural features—valleys, watersheds, prominent spurs—are the real old tribe boundaries, just as they are the boundaries of the existing

divisions of the various districts. I have always felt, however, that this border of Zebulon was the one least certainly traced, for though the Survey suggestions for the territory of Naphtali, of Benjamin, of Dan, and of Ephraim, contain many striking novelties, they have been sifted much more completely than that now described, and they seem to me to have stood the test. The reader is invited to trace the present line on the map, and to form his own judgment as to the border of Zebulon, and he will find that the Survey identifications have cast equal light on every other border of the twelve tribes.

In the present case there are sixteen identifications on which the border line depends, and out of these only two of minor importance remain very doubtful. Out of the sixteen, ten are due to the Survey of Palestine, and were unknown to Robinson, Grove, or any other pre-survey authority. This instance alone seems, therefore, to indicate how much we have gained, from a Biblical point of view, by surveying the Holy Land.

C. R. C.

NOTES.

The following remarks as to the last *Statement* may be worth noting.

1st. *Numbers of Israel.*— On p. 99, the writer, C. M. W., has made a curious mistake. He computes the space occupied by the Israelites, supposing their numbers to be 600,000, but this was the number of the men (Exod. xiv, 37); the children, women, and others are to be added; and if the writer of the passage is following the usual Oriental fashion of numbering only the men able to bear arms, the whole host would have been about three millions, but at least the number must be doubled.

2nd. *North Boundary of Palestine.*—One or two objections may be noted. *Shebrûh* is spelt with a cheth at the end (see the lists of Robinson, &c.), and is thus radically different from Sibraim (see p. 103), without mentioning that the Samech becomes Sin instead of Shin in Arabic. *Kureitein* (p. 104), is not derived from Kir, but from Kuryeh, the Hebrew Kirjath, and is an Arabic dual form. It appears to me quite clear that the Hauran of Ezekiel is the modern district of Hauran, which the writer denies; but this is perhaps a matter of opinion only. It is, however, not correct to say that Berothah is undoubtedly Beirût, for this has been disputed on very good grounds, and is still an open question. The suggestion of *Juneh* for Hazar Enan is also not satisfactory, for the J is the Hebrew Gimel, and although the Ain and Gimel are known to be interchanged occasionally, there are three possible sites for Hazar Enan which do not necessitate so violent a conversion of sound. The situation of Juneh seems to me inadmissible for Hazar Enan, and I hope to prove that the Mount Hor

which existed north of Palestine was the Lebanon inhabited by the *Khar*, or Phœnicians.

Siloam, p. 105.—A misconception seems here to arise, as there is certainly but one aqueduct from the Virgin's Fountain to Siloam, viz., that known to Gesenius, Robinson, and all later writers.

Tomb of the Twelve Patriarchs, p. 109.—It seems to have escaped notice that these have been found by the Surveyors in Shechem, where Jerome also knew them, though the Samaritans have a different belief (see "Memoirs," vol. ii, pp. 218, 220).

Rachel's Tomb.—Herr Schick says (p. 111) that the tomb north of Kustul is sometimes called Kubbet Rahel. I have asked on the spot more than once, but never was able to confirm this view. But even if it were the case, this site could not possibly represent the Tomb of Rachael, which is specially mentioned as near Ephrath (Gen. xxxv, 16). This position agrees exactly with the border of Judah according to the line which I have proposed ("Handbook to Bible," p. 258).

C. R. C.

THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.

WHILST studying Canon Scarth's article on "The Route of the Exodus," together with the four papers on the same subject that appeared in the last *Quarterly Statement*, and Brugsch Bey's statement of his theory, I have been forcibly reminded of the well-known story of the two knights riding from opposite directions, and disputing about a certain shield that was suspended between them, which was silver on the one side and golden on the other. The antagonists on the vexed question of the Route of the Exodus seem to me to represent these knights, and I have worked out a theory which tends greatly to harmonise the various routes proposed by Brugsch Bey, Captain Conder, Canon Scarth, and other authorities, by showing the Yam Suph to present a different aspect according to the side from which it is viewed, like the shield in the allegory.

A year or two ago, when standing on the shore of the Red Sea near Suez, I felt my heart thrill within me at the thought that my feet were pressing the very spot whence the children of Israel passed over dry-shod. I then held the view which I had embraced with unquestioning faith in the days of childhood; but I have since become convinced of the physical impossibility of the Red Sea being driven back at this point by the east wind.

Unless, therefore, we are prepared to translate the Hebrew words rendered "east wind" in our Authorised Version as simply a "contrary wind," we must, I think, give up the formerly received identification of the crossing-place of the Israelites; but we are not thereby called upon to cease calling the Red Sea the Yam Suph.

In ages past the Red Sea appears to have been continuous from the modern Aden to a point north of Zoan, and probably at one period it extended as a strait between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. In course of time, however, its entrance into the latter sea became silted up, and it then presented the appearance of a serpent's forked tongue, the two forks being Lake Menzaleh and Lake Serbonis.

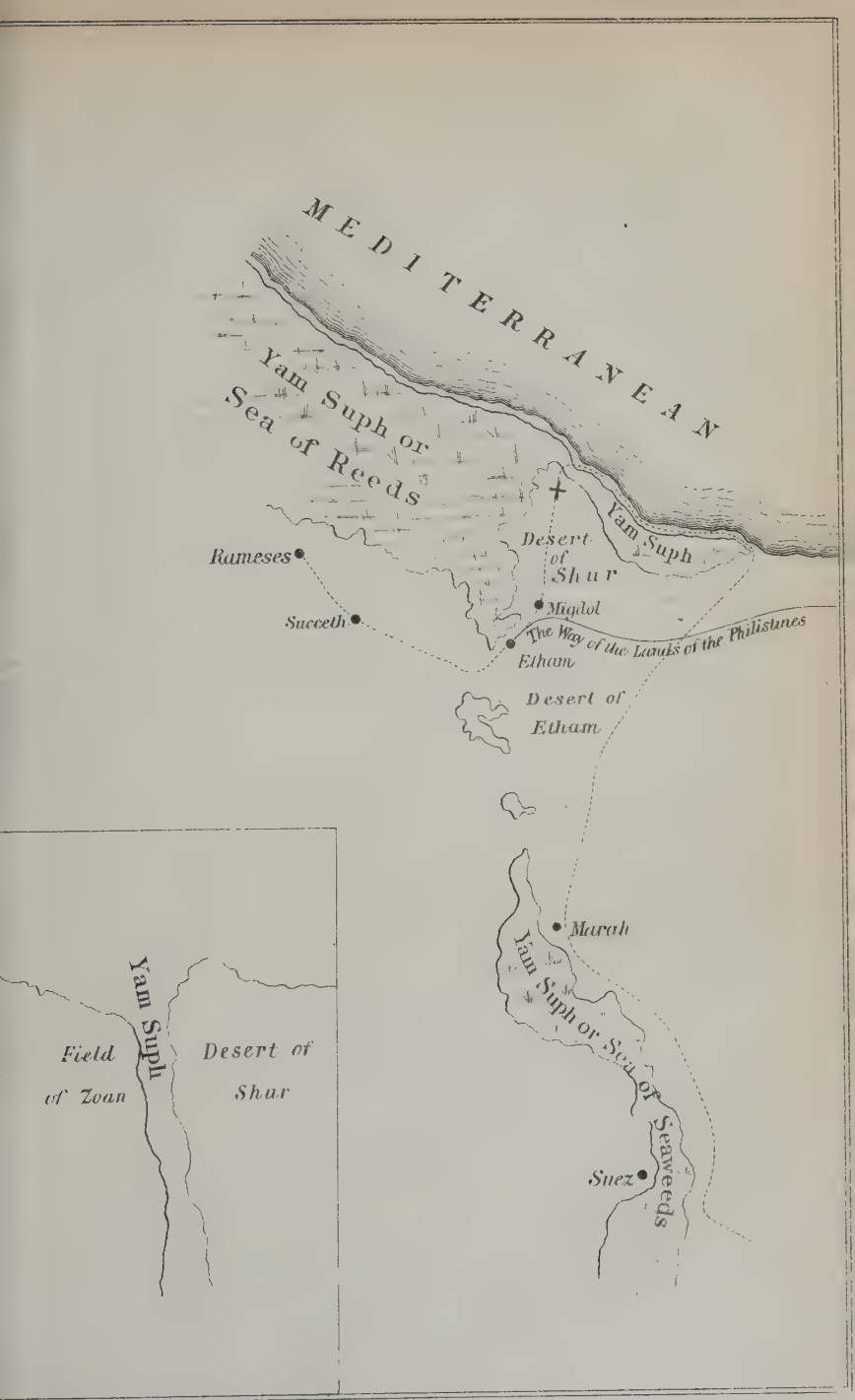
It was then so full of algæ as to receive the appellation "Sea of Seaweeds." By-and-by the centre part dried up, leaving isolated basins of brackish water, to the south of which was the Red Sea itself; to the north, Lakes Menzaleh and Serbonis, the two latter forming one whole. Much as we find the brook Kedron bearing the same name throughout its course, though a great part of that course is lost to sight far underground, so the northern and southern portions of the Red Sea, though now severed from each other, still kept the same designation, namely, that of "Sea of Seaweeds," which the Israelites translated by Yam Suph.

Even at the present day the appellation "Sea of Seaweeds" continues to be appropriate to the Red Sea proper; but from the moment when its northern portion (afterwards called Lakes Menzaleh and Serbonis) became severed from the southern, and ceased to have any connection with the sea, the characteristic vegetation of this sheet of water underwent a change, and reeds, such as papyri and flags, took the place of algæ. Inappropriate as the English name "Sea of Seaweeds" would now have become to this large lake, yet the Hebrew term was not at all so, for *Yam Suph* bears the meaning of "Sea of Reeds," as well as that of "Sea of Seaweeds," *Suph* or *Soph* being used in Exodus ii, 2, to designate "flags," whilst in Jonah ii, 5, the same word conveys the meaning of seaweeds.

I think Canon Scarth has shown conclusively that the Yam Suph of Exodus x, 19, into which the locusts were blown by "a west wind," was Lake Menzaleh; for, as he points out, "a north wind would be needed to blow them forty or fifty miles over the desert to reach the Red Sea at Suez." This would help to fix the starting-place of the Israelites at the modern San, the ancient Zoan, or Rameses, an identification upon which most authorities are now agreed. No such unanimity, however, prevails regarding the subsequent stations of the Exodus.

Powerful as are the arguments adduced by Captain Conder (in the last *Quarterly Statement*) against the theories of Canon Scarth and Brugsch Bey, I must confess to not finding them convincing.

In the first place, with regard to the ancient physical features of the Delta, the fact must be borne in mind that not only have Roman graves dating from an early period been discovered at Port Saïd, and ancient Roman towns not far to the south of it, but that Greek antiquities of the time of Ptolemy have been lately found upon islands on the bosom of Lake Menzaleh, close to Port Saïd, where Greek cities were situated in the days of that great geographer, thus proving that in Ptolemy's time the towns of Egypt extended to much the same north latitude as Port Saïd does now. As to the absence of water on a portion of the Kantara route, the difficulty would be no greater than that which the Israelites had after-



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wards to encounter, when, as we read in Exodus xv, 22, "they went three days in the wilderness and found no water."

Then with regard to the objection to the Israelites with women, children, flocks, and herds, having taken the long daily marches which the route proposed by Canon Scarth is supposed to imply, I would answer, in the words of Mr. Pickering Clarke, "Are we obliged to allow only three days after leaving their homes before the Israelites made their encampment at Pi-hahiroth? The Bible account does not say so."

The close agreement of the localities mentioned in the papyrus dating from the reign of Seti II, with those referred to in Exodus xiii, xiv, as the camping-places of the children of Israel, seems more than merely accidental. The route proposed by Canon Scarth coincides with that followed by the pursuer of the fugitive slaves nearly 3,000 years ago as far as Migdol, where it trends north-westwards, leaving the caravan route to Syria; for here God commanded the Israelites to "turn," because He "led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near; but God led the people about through the way of the wilderness of the Yam Suph;" and in thus turning they continued to keep the Sea of Reeds close on their left as they had done ever since leaving Rameses.

The identification of Pi-hahiroth, originated by Canon Scarth, is most striking in its exact fulfilment of all the requirements of the Bible narrative, and not less so is his localisation of the crossing-place of the Israelites from thence through the Yam Suph to the bank of sand which divides this Sea of Reeds from the Mediterranean.

Many people have, however, been led to reject the Canon's theory altogether, because of the subsequent march to Port Said and back, which he imagines the children of Israel to have undertaken; but it seems to me that the necessity for this march may be obviated by supposing Lake Menzaleh and Lake Serbonis to have formed one Sea of Reeds at this period, connected opposite Pi-hahiroth by a somewhat shallow strait. When the east wind blew, this strait would become a broad isthmus of sand, a watershed between the two lakes over which the Israelites would cross, having the waters of the Sea of Reeds as "a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left." Arrived at the sandbank before mentioned as the northern boundary of the Yam Suph, they would turn to the south-east and continue along it, skirting the seaward shore of Lake Serbonis,[1] thus having still a wall of waters on either side, the left hand wall being now the Mediterranean, the right hand one the Sea of Reeds as before.

[1] As in after times (when the strait dividing Lakes Menzaleh and Serbonis became permanently dry land) a high road from Asia is said to have run past the Temple of Zeus Casius along this very sandbank to the north of Lake Serbonis, it is unlikely that in the days of the Exodus it was intersected by either the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, or the inlet of the Mediterranean described by Mr. Chester in the *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1881, though it is possible the Mediterranean may have occasionally broken over the strip of sand in a west wind, and that its doing so to the rear of the marching Israelites may have added to their safety, and aided in the destruction of their foes.

Meanwhile, Pharaoh's host had begun crossing over the natural bridge, but the east wind ceasing to blow, the isthmus disappeared beneath the rising waves, and the Egyptians perished in the Yam Suph, or sank into the numerous quicksands abounding in the neighbourhood of Pi-hahiroth; "the sea covered them," and "the earth swallowed them" (Exod. xv, 10, 12).

Being now freed from all fear of pursuit, the Israelites took a southerly course, which led them first for three days through the desert of Shur. They seem, from Numbers xxxiii, 8, to have occupied another three days in traversing the wilderness of Etham, so that it was not until the evening of the sixth, or the morning of the seventh day after they had quitted the shores of the Sea of Reeds, that they reached Marah, which appears to be satisfactorily identified by Canon Scarth and Brugsch Bey with the Bitter Lakes. Elim may possibly be Ayún Músa (the "Wells of Moses"); at all events it is clear, from Numbers xxxiii, 10, that the day after leaving Elim the Israelites encamped by the Yam Suph, which cannot here mean, as before, the Sea of Reeds, but must be used in this verse to indicate the Sea of Seaweeds, or the modern Red Sea; the double signification of "Suph" or "Soph," as I have before pointed out, making the appellation equally appropriate to the Red Sea as to Lakes Menzaleh and Serbonis, and the probability of a connection between the three having existed in times antecedent to the Exodus, being greatly enhanced by the fact that fossil shells, of a species now peculiar to the Red Sea, have been discovered in the bed of Lake Timsah. Lesser reasons than these, however, would have sufficed to induce the Hebrews to bestow an identical name on more than one piece of water, for in 1 Kings ix, 26, we find them applying the very same term of Yam Suph to the Gulf of Akabah, thus proving that this ancient Semitic race was not so precise in its use of geographical names as our modern English topographers are. The Greeks seem to have been equally vague, and, as Canon Scarth reminds us, seeing that Herodotus and other Greek writers carry the name of *ἐρυθρά θάλασσα* to the Persian Gulf, and even confound it with the Indian Ocean, it is not to be wondered at that they should not confine the title of "Red" to the sea now known by that name, but should bestow it also on the Sea of Reeds, which was tinged deep red at the time of the inundation of the Nile by the Ethiopian soil brought down by the Tanitic branch of that river, which flowed through the Yam Suph. The Septuagint, instead of translating Suph, substitutes for it the nomenclature more familiar to the Greeks, and in Acts vii, 36, and Hebrews xi, 29, the Septuagint text is followed.

A. G. Weld.

WHERE IS CANA OF GALILEE?

By the Rev. W. T. Pilter, M.R.A.S.

(*Formerly Missionary in Palestine.*)

The traditional site of the village where our Lord wrought His first miracle has, for the last five or six hundred years, oscillated between *K*âna, a ruined village, eight miles, as the crow flies, due north of Nazareth, and *viâ* *S*efûriyeh, and Kefr Kenna, a village four miles north-east of Nazareth, *en route* for Tiberias. People at home usually follow Dr. Robinson in taking *K*âna to be the authentic site, while those who have visited Palestine are almost certain to have seen Kefr Kenna, though not *K*âna, and favour the place they have seen,—a species of vice not confined to travellers.

For reasons which will presently appear, in this matter of Cana of Galilee I am disposed to join the tourists' chorus.

But we have first to settle with Dr. Robinson. He informs us[1] that Kâna was known both among Christians and Moslems only by this name Kâna el Jelîl ; while the same name was sometimes applied, by Christians alone, to the village of Kefr Kenna, because, apparently, the monks have taught them to do so. He further reminds us that Kâna el Jelîl is precisely the rendering of Cana of Galilee in the Arabic New Testament. We might add that the same rendering is preserved in the revised Arabic translation of Drs. Eli Smith and Van Dyck, and that it is exactly the equivalent in the modern vernacular of Palestine of the *κανὰ τῆϛ Γαλιλαίαϛ* of the Greek Testament, or קָנָה אֲשֶׁר בַּגָּלִיל of the Hebrew Version of the New Testament. Naturally, therefore, if *K*âna el Jelîl were the original native name of the now ruined northern village, it would need very cogent evidence indeed to prevent us identifying it with the Cana of Galilee of St. John's Gospel.

But, so far as I can gather, the only authority Dr. Robinson has for his full name of Kâna el Jelîl was his friend Abu Nâsir, an intelligent Arab-Greek Christian of Nazareth. Against Abu Nasir's statement, that the place "was known both among Christians and Moslems only by this name Kâna el Jelîl," we have the evidence of the Palestine Exploration Fund's map, which shows it only as Kâna, or Khŭrbet Kâna. But we have fuller evidence on the subject, and almost contemporary with Dr. Robinson's—that of Dr. W. M. Thomson in the first edition of "The Land and the Book" (p. 425). He says that when on the road from Tiberias "I pestered everybody I could find on the right and the left—farmers, shepherds, Bedawîn, and travellers—with inquiries about the place where the *water was made*

[1] Robinson, "Biblical Researches" (1st edition), vol. iii, p. 205. In his 3rd edition I see Dr. Robinson omits "el Jelîl" from the name and writes only Kâna."

wine. With one consent they pointed to Kefr Kenna. Some of them knew of a ruin called Kâna, on the north side of the great Plain of Buttauf, but only one had ever heard of the word Jelîl as a part of the name; and, from the hesitancy with which this one admitted it, I was left in doubt whether he did not merely acquiesce in it at my suggestion. It is *certain* that very few even of the Moslems know the full name Kâna el Jelîl." The evidence now shows that this is only another of the several *K*ânas which are found in Northern Palestine; the name may be applied to any place where *reeds* grow, as, *e.g.*, to the spring of the little village of Er-Reineh, between Nazareth and Kefr Kenna, which is called (see the Survey map) Ain *K*âna.

Although Dr. Thomson's evidence is so important against the identity of the name, he is disposed to adopt Dr. Robinson's identification of *K*âna as Cana of Galilee on other grounds, which we have now, therefore, to examine, viz., the evidences of tradition and natural topography.

We will first hear Robinson and his own authorities. He says (p. 205) "that it is only since the sixteenth century that monastic convenience has definitely assigned Kefr Kenna as the site" of Cana of Galilee. Quaresmius (a Latin monk and Papal Commissary, who resided about twelve years in the Holy Land, and whose book was printed 1634–39) "relates, that in his day, two Canas were spoken of among the inhabitants of Nazareth and the vicinity; one called simply Cana of Galilee (Kâna el Jelîl), and the other Sepher Cana (Kefr Kenna). . . . He decides, however, very distinctly for the latter place, because of its being nearer to Nazareth, and having some ruins [of a church built to commemorate the miracle]; without, however, as he says, venturing to reject the other tradition. Yet it was probably the authority of this very writer which tended, more than any anything else, to fix attention upon Kefr Kenna, and throw the true Kâna into the shade; for from that time forward the latter is very rarely noticed by travellers. It may be remembered, too, that in the time of Quaresmius, the church and convent at Nazareth were first built up, after the desolations of many centuries; and this circumstance conspired to give currency, among travellers, to the view which the monks adopted respecting Cana."

It appears from this that when, according to Robinson, the monks began to adopt Kefr Kenna as the site of Cana of Galilee, they could point to some old ruins still there commemorating it as the true site; it also appears that for some centuries before this it was not so convenient for travellers to visit Kefr Kenna in consequence of the convent at Nazareth being then desolate.

It may have been that the "monastic convenience" Robinson speaks of had led the monks, when driven from Nazareth, but still maintaining a good footing in *S*efûrieh, to fix upon the village of *K*âna—so accessible from *S*efûrieh, and bearing the name of Cana—as Cana of Galilee. The testimonies Robinson quotes, of travellers earlier than Quaresmius, support this conclusion as much as his own—to wit, Adrichomius, near the close of the sixteenth century; Anselm, about A.D. 1507; and Breydenbach, A.D. 1483;

the first and last of these apparently quoting "earlier writers." "But the most distinct notice of the Cana of those days," says Robinson, "is from Marinus Sanutus, about A.D. 1321" (whose account, however, may have been taken from Brocardus, *circa* A.D. 1280). "In coming from Ptolemais ('Akka), he says, the most usual course was to proceed first eastwards to Cana, and thence south, through Sepphoris to Nazareth. All this leaves no doubt that the site of Kâna el Jelîl is here meant. At that time the place was professedly shown where the six waterpots had stood, and also the triclinium where the feast was held; but the whole was in a crypt, or cavern, underground." This piece of evidence indicates pretty clearly that this was but a "show place" for pilgrims devised by the monks. Marinus went the "usual course" of the different sites which were "professedly shown." And it is morally certain that this site was a monkish invention, for the monks are fond of locating the scenes of Bible stories in caves (witness the Chapel of the Anunciation in Nazareth, and that in which the Apostles' Creed was composed on the Mount of Olives); but no Jewish feast, such as that of the marriage at Cana, was ever held in a cave. In the time of Saewulf, about A.D. 1103, there was a monastery "still standing," called the Architriclinium. Now, although Robinson merely mentions this piece of evidence, I confess that it seems to me to be the most striking of all he adduces in his favour. The architriclinium at least testifies that there was already a tradition that in this place the first miracle of Christ was performed. The tradition may not have been very old, but it was there. And where was this place? "Nearly six miles north of Nazareth, on a hill." Both Kâna and Kefr Kenna are on hills, but the former *ten* and the latter a little over four English miles from Nazareth. But an English mile is longer than Saewulf's Roman ones, and this difference would make Kefr Kenna nearly *five* miles and Kana *eleven miles from Nazareth*, and, therefore, Saewulf speaks evidently of Kefr Kenna, and clearly not of Kâna; moreover, he apparently saw it just before the traditional site was changed, "to suit monastic convenience," to Kâna.

The only remaining definite witness Robinson calls to support his view is St. Willibald, who visited Palestine in the eighth century. But St. Willibald's evidence is as follows:—"And having there (*i.e.*, at Nazareth) recommended themselves to the Lord, they proceeded to the town of Cana, where our Lord turned water into wine. A large church stands there, and near the altar is still preserved one of the six vessels which our Lord commanded to be filled with water to be turned into wine; and the travellers drank wine out of it. They remained there one day, and then continued their journey to Mount Tabor,"[1] thence to Tiberias, Magdala, Capernaum Bethsaida, Chorazin, and Dan. The route given is vague from its brevity, but the "Cana" manifestly suits Kefr Kenna rather better than Kâna. Indeed, if Kâna were meant Willibald must have also seen Sefurieh *en route*, an important place to pilgrims, with a cathedral which, according to the tradition of at least two centuries (*i.e.*, from the time of Antoninus

[1] T. Wright's translation of Willibald, in "Early Travels in Palestine," p. 16.

Martyr), was built on the spot where the Virgin Mary received the salutation of the Angel; yet Sefurieh is not referred to by Willibald in the remotest way; we thence infer that he did not see it, and therefore did not go to *K*âna.

Before we come to the evidence of the Scripture period it may be well to have a description of *K*âna before us. According to Dr. Thomson, "a careful examination of the site (of *K*âna) led to the conclusion that there were never more than fifty houses in the place. . . . There are some ancient cisterns about Kâna, . . . but no fountains or well,"—and hence it must always have been even more insignificant than Nazareth, which possesses its own spring. It would thus have been remarkable indeed if an inhabitant of *K*âna had said, as Nathaniel of Cana of Galilee said, "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?"

There are two other arguments of some, though not of great weight in deciding against Kâna. The first is, whence came the water to fill "six waterpots of stone, . . . containing two or three firkins apiece?" It may have been there "a practice" to keep "water in large stone pots, each holding from eighteen to twenty-seven gallons,"[2] but those at the feast in question were empty, and filled at the command of Jesus. Now 130 gallons or so might have been easily enough obtained at that period of the year, apparently spring-time, from a spring such as that of Kefr Kenna; but one might have expected the villagers of a little place of not more than fifty houses to have raised some objection to such a quantity of water being carried off at once from a common *cistern*. The second difficulty is one of travel. Cana of Galilee was reached on the "third day" (John ii, 1), after leaving the Baptist at Bethabara (John i, 28). Assuming Bethabara to be the same as Beth Nimrah, this would be eighty miles distant from Kefr Kenna—a sufficiently long journey to be accomplished "on the third day" without adding five or six miles.

One argument, which I confess has always weighed much with me in favour of Kefr Kenna, is the naturalness of its position in the Galilean circuit,—whence, so far as we have any evidence, all the disciples seem to have come (excepting only the one from Judea, the traitor), and also the natural way in which all the New Testament references to Cana of Galilee fall in with this site. Kefr Kenna is on one of the two ordinary routes from Nazareth, "where He was brought up" to Capernaum, where He afterwards took up His abode;—it is thus on the road to the Mount of Beatitudes and the Galilean Lake. It seems natural, therefore, that Philip of Bethsaida should have a friend dwelling at Kefr Kenna; and Capernaum might be a common meeting-place for the disciples, as it would be "the city" at that time to Kefr Kenna and Bethsaida, but not to *K*âna. This idea receives some confirmation from all the New Testament references to Cana, as, *e.g.*, from the fact that when our Lord, leaving Judea, was welcomed

[1] "The Land and the Book," vol. ii, p. 303, new edition (1883).

[2] Dr. E. D. Clarke's "Travels," quoted by Canon Westcott in the "Speaker's Commentary" on St. John.

into Galilee, He stayed again at Cana, and the centurion of Capernaum, hearing that He had come "into Galilee," went to Jesus, perhaps expecting to find Him in His own city of Nazareth; but while on his way thither found Him at Kefr Kenna, through which He would naturally pass *en route* for Nazareth.

We must bear in mind another fact, which we shall have to make more use of immediately, namely, that, so far as appears, there never was any thoroughfare passing *Kâna*,—nothing but a bye-road which ended with the little village, while Kefr Kenna has always been on a much used thoroughfare, as well as in proximity to the Roman road, and so, humanly speaking, well adapted as a missionary centre of the Great Teacher.

We come, lastly, to the evidence of Josephus,[1] who appears to describe Cana as Cana of Galilee to distinguish it from Cana in Cœlosyria. The requirements of Cana of Galilee, as referred to in his "Life" (§ 16), would be most satisfactorily met by Kefr Kenna, as its situation would enable him to keep an eye on both Sepphoris (*Sefurieh*) and Tiberias at the same time; while one cannot see how an out-of-the-way village, containing not more than fifty houses, and a limited water supply, could have accommodated Josephus and his soldiers. So, again ("Life," § 71), Kâna was too insignificant and obscure to be specially watched by a Roman army. Finally, it would really appear too absurd of Josephus to ask to believe ("Wars," I, xvii, 5) that the "headquarters" of Herod the Great were at a village called Cana" (of Galilee, § 3), if that village could count scarcely fifty houses, little water, and no proper road!

To sum up. First, Dr. Robinson's chief argument of the identity of name of his *Kâna* and Cana of Galilee, upon which he might trust if it were real, is shown on examination to be untrustworthy. Secondly, the evidence of tradition is not in favour of *Kâna*, but of Kefr Kenna, except just enough to show that at a particular period "monastic convenience" temporarily shifted the site from Kefr Kenna to *Kâna*; that it was a monastic device being further testified by the fact of a cave being resorted to. Thirdly, that *Kâna*, from its obscure situation, its smallness, and deficient water supply, fails to meet the requirements of the Cana of Galilee of the New Testament and of Josephus, while Kefr Kenna fulfils all the conditions.

One difficulty remains to prevent us absolutely identifying Kefr Kenna with Cana of Galilee; it is that of *name*. The difficulty is, not that it has lost or changed its old name, for this is quite a common thing in Galilee; witness, *e.g.*, Bethsaida, Gath Hepher, Mount Tabor, and the Plain of Edraelon or Jezreel, and in Judea of Emmaus—to mention just one place which Mrs. Finn has lately discussed with so much lucidity and force in these pages. The difficulty is that *all* the Syriac versions insert *t* before the n, and read *Kotna* or *Kotneh*, which, as Canon Westcott says, may point to local knowledge; for the Syriac was the vernacular version of Palestine probably from the second century of our era. The meaning of the Syriac word, however, gives us no clue to the place. Could any village

[1] "Antiq.," XV, v, 1; "Life," §§ 16 and 71; "Wars," I, xvii, 5.

or ruins be found in the proper quarter called Kotna, the question might be set at perfect rest; but neither the Survey map shows us such a place, nor does any ancient traveller speak of one. What, then, shall we conclude as to Cana of Galilee? Why surely the same as the Arabs before us, that it is Kefr Kenna[1]—The Village which has Changed its Name indeed!

THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

I HAVE read with great interest Captain Conder's paper in the April number on the discoveries at what is called "Jeremiah's Grotto." I know the ground well, having both in 1872 and 1875 camped close to the place; in 1872 I studied carefully the so-called "Holy Sepulchre," and was convinced it had no true grounds for the title. With my friend Tyrwhitt Drake and Bishop Gobat I often discussed the position of "Calvary." They believed that its position must have been on the northern side of the city, at or about a knoll which overlooks the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and close to the northern road (not far from Jeremiah's Grotto). I painted a picture of the spot in 1872, which was exhibited in London, and engraved in the *Graphic*, with a short notice propounding the idea that *that* was the true site of "Calvary." I give up my idea of that site for Captain Conder's, which is close by, and am only glad to find I was on the right track.

There is a passage in the Gospel of Luke of great importance, xxiii, 26: "Simon, a Cyrenean, *coming out of the country*," marks, I think, the position of Golgotha.

There are four great roads coming into Jerusalem:—

That from the *south—the Hebron road.*
That from the *west—the Jaffa road.*
That from the *east—the Jericho road.*

The last, the *north* road, "*coming out of the country*," coming from Galilee, Samaria—from the very heart of the country. Luke is always so exact in his descriptions, that I think his expression proves that Golgotha was on the *northern side*, and being "nigh to the city," and "without the gates," is an additional proof of the soundness of Captain Conder's view.

HENRY A. HARPER.

[1] From كفر a village, and كنا to signify by an improper or changed name (as, *e.g.*, by a surname).

THE EXODUS.

Among the four or five papers on the Exodus in your last *Quarterly Statement*, I am greatly pleased at the contribution by Mr. C. Pickering Clarke. He accepts, at page 23, as distinctly even as I have done myself, what I have so long contended for, viz., that the fifth and sixth Anastasi papyri are distinctively papyri of the Exodus : that is to say, that masses of Semitic people are described therein as flitting backwards and across the scene. Mr. Clarke (p. 23), talking of the marshy country east of the fortress set up by the Regent Hotep-hi-ma, or Bai-n-Ra, says, "The administration of the eastern marshes is clearly set forth in the Egyptian papyri, having its bureau at the royal city Pi-Rameses ; and the foreign people again were under the control of regularly appointed officers of their own, who were responsible, we may suppose, to the central government of the country."

The reason, however, why I can hardly quite agree in this flowery description is that when the Semites rose in insurrection, the government was no longer central, but anarchical. Both Rameses II and Seti II died blind (see Pliny, Herodotus, and Diodorus), and practically everything fell into the hands of the great regent Bai-n-Ra, who died tributary to the Hittites, and thus eventuated the Exodus. Unfortunately, to the best of my knowledge, only two people in England would be able to read off Hieratic. There may be others, of course. Let them tell us, yes or no, was the military earthwork Tabnet cut out in twenty-three days, or was it not ? Was it or was it not dug out avowedly for the accommodation of the foreigners in the temple of Nebt-hotep ? Was or was not a four days' journey arranged for the Semites ? Were 178 royal robes given or loaned out by Egyptian officers to the foreigners for the occasion ?

These things are not quite clear, and it is curious that from about the middle of the papyrus (6th Anastasi) the Regent and his friendly Shasu are brought forward from Edom. Perhaps it is a symptom of the last struggle that poor old Seti sent down an architect from Thebes to put things right. Truly, however, let us allow he was probably the greatest architect that this world has ever known, viz., Bek-n-Chonsu.

Dunbar J. Heath.

Esher, Surrey.

VARIETIES.

I wish to point out one or two points in Captain Conder's recent observations :—

1. In incorrectly saying (1883, p. 102) that I seem to identify *Ephron* with *Ephrath*, he has confused the former name with

Ephraim. This name (52) may easily have taken the place of *Ephrath*, by the final ת being altered (as I said) into ים.

2. *The Garrison* (1883, p. 101). Samson's last exploit was breaking Philistine pillars. But that Jonathan's first had to do with pillars erected by the Philistines is an idle fancy on the part of Captain Conder. If he is satisfied about the rocking of the *pillar*, what is meant by "Both of them *discovered themselves unto the* '*pillar*' (!) of the Philistines?" (1 Sam. xiv, 11.) Should the grammar allow the words in xiv, 15, to be rendered "all the people of the *pillar*," the lexicon certainly will not, since the word מצב, used seven times in this episode, never means a "pillar." It is an entire mistake to say "it is rendered 'pillar' in other passages of the Old Testament."
3. *Gath* (1880, p. 216). Captain Conder made a strange mistake when he said that I had "fallen into the same error with Mr. Saunders in supposing the *Gh* or *Ghein* to represent the Hebrew Gimel." Apparently he overlooked the small but important word *if* at the beginning of the sentence.

W. F. B.

THE TOMB OF DAVID IN THE CITY OF DAVID.

If Captain Conder be right (N.B., I do not for a moment believe that he is) in his identification of the Tomb of Nicodemus (so called) with "the monuments of the Kings of Judah (1883, p. 73), including the Tombs of David and Solomon," then this is certainly the grandest discovery yet made at Jerusalem.

Mr. Fergusson in 1878, having four ill-sorted kings to dispose of, made them up into one lot and said ("Temples," p. 56), "These four may have been buried in those sepulchres always known to have existed under the western boundary of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre." Captain Conder, always striking, but sometimes missing the mark, seems to have seized on these tombs for a nobler object, and says in the "Handbook" (p. 342), "It seems quite possible that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre preserves the monument of the nine chief kings of Jerusalem."

This "possible" of 1879, developed into "hope to show" in 1882 (*Quarterly Statement*, 157), and has now in 1883 culminated, "after ten years of study," in a "fact" (!!). Surely error grows apace.

Since 1877 I have believed that the Tomb of David was on Ophel (so called), and as the newly discovered aqueduct clears up the Siloam mystery, I do not hesitate (after groping awhile in the dark) to assert that the tomb is on that hill somewhere between Siloam and the Virgin's Fountain. Since 1878 it has been patent to me that the City of David was solely and

entirely on Ophel so called. Accordingly, I now invite, challenge, and defy anybody, from the river to the ends of the earth, to upset this conclusion.

Yet in self-defence I must demolish Captain Conder's "fact," by showing—

(1) That his process of reasoning is defective, even *if* the evidence he produces be trustworthy; and

(2) That this evidence is either not trustworthy, since it is contradictory, or else it is obviously untrue, since it contradicts the Bible.

Captain Conder's case seems to be this :—

1. David was buried in the City of David.
2. The tombs named are the only ancient Jewish sepulchres visible in Jerusalem.
3. These tombs have some peculiarities, and so had the Sepulchre of David, according to Josephus.
4. Therefore it is a *fact* that these sepulchres represent the Tomb of David.

A parallel case will show how inconclusive is an argument like this. For instance :—

1. Goliath was killed by a stone in the Valley of Elah.
2. The only stone now visible to me was once in Wâdy es Sunt.
3. This stone has peculiarities: *e.g.*, it is smooth and was taken to Jerusalem; the stone (1 Sam. xvii) was also smooth, and may have been taken to Jerusalem while still embedded in Goliath's head.
4. Therefore it is a "fact" that the stone before me killed Goliath.

Unfortunately for the interest of my museum the same might be said of many a stone gathered out of the brook, and similarly many a tomb discovered in Jerusalem might be declared to be the Tomb of David. This kind of argument is of no value whatever.

Next as to the character of the evidence. In the "Handbook" (p. 341) it is said, "From the Talmud we learn that all tombs were outside Jerusalem, except those of the family of David, and that of the prophetess Huldah." From this it might seem that Captain Conder was supported by the authority of the Talmud (whatever that may be) in saying (1880, p. 102), "It (*i.e.*, the Tomb of Nicodemus) is the only undoubted Jewish tomb in Jerusalem." It is added, however (p. 341 *supra*), "Although it was not considered certain whether some 'tomb of the depth' or hidden sepulchre might not exist unknown beneath the surface" (Parah. iii, 2). Captain Conder has further given (1877, p. 134) several passages from the Mishna to the effect that "sepulchres dating from an early period existed within the walls of Jerusalem." One passage is very curious, viz., "All the sepulchres within Jerusalem were transferred outside the walls except those of the family of David and of the prophetess Huldah." This is the passage of the Talmud referred to above, the truth of which seems to depend on some *sepulchres* (!) having been transferred to outside the walls. Josiah transferred ashes from Jerusalem to Bethel; we moved bones from

Bethel to Sidon ; but who, except an American, would transfer a sepulchre ? If the Talmud proves anything, it is that there were other tombs in Jerusalem besides the royal sepulchres. But, if there were others, why must the only one we can now see be of necessity the Tomb of David ?"

Instead of delaying over the peculiarities to which I have already objected (1880, p. 167), it will suffice to show that the tomb claimed as that of David cannot really be such, since it is at least half-a-mile out of its proper place, though it must be admitted that the power which could transfer sepulchres outside the walls could undoubtedly alter their position within.

David was buried in the City of David. Captain Conder claims that the part near the Holy Sepulchre was the City of David because this part, "according to the majority of authorities, is the site of the Akra of Josephus, and Akra, according to LXX, was Millo, and Millo was in the City of David." I readily admit that the Acra of Josephus was on the site of the City of David. But have we really come to this, that the site of Acra is to be settled, not by argument, but by the votes of a majority ? Surely not.

Josephus identifies his Acra with the Acra of Maccabees, which was the City of David (1 Macc. i, 33). The question then is, where does Josephus put Acra ? I answer, "Solely and entirely on Ophel so called, just where the biblical evidence puts the City of David."

The evidence that Josephus places Acra, or the Lower City, on A, the hill south of the Temple, and not near B, the Holy Sepulchre, is as follows:—

1. Jerusalem stood on two hills, those of the Upper City and Acra, and was defended where necessary by *three* walls. Acra at B would be defended by *two* only, while Jerusalem would in this case stand on *three* hills, viz., the Upper Hill, A, and B.
2. These two hills had deep valleys on the outside. Acra at B would have no deep valley on the outside.
3. Josephus repeatedly gives the title of Acra, or the Lower City, to A, but never to B, which he describes as "the suburbs."
4. In 15 "Ant.," xi, 5, the first-named gate was one near Wilson's Arch; the one leading to the other city, by a great number of steps into the valley, &c., was one at Robinson's Arch, while the deep valley along the entire south quarter of the city is the valley south of the Upper City. If it is urged that the gates are here named in *strict local order*, then there is the following crushing reply.
5. In 4 "Wars," ix, 12, much more must there be local order in the description of the four towers. One of these was at the north-east corner of the temple, another above the Xystus ; the "third" at another corner over against *the Lower City*. This must obviously be the corner near Robinson's Arch, which was thus over against Acra. To the advocates of "local order" it is left to escape from their own dilemma.
6. In 5 "Wars," iv, 1, the *third* hill (*i.e.*, the Temple) was parted by a

broad valley from *the upper city*, and not from Acra. This valley was filled up in the line of Wilson's Arch in order to join the *Upper* City to the Temple.

7. Acra is said to be *ἀμφίκυρτος*. This word means *gibbous*, or *with sloping sides*, but not "in the form of a *crescent*," as Captain Conder describes B.

The placing of Acra of Josephus anywhere else than south of the Temple is one of the most remarkable errors to be found in literature.

It has arisen apparently from two *false* statements on his part: (1) that the Acra was originally higher than the Temple. To suit this notion he deliberately altered the *went up* in 1 Macc. vii, 33 into *came down* (!) in "Ant.," 12, x, 5; and (2) that the Acra was levelled by Simon. This exploit is not so much as mentioned in 1 Macc., and is indeed in direct opposition to two passages in that book (xiv, 37; xv, 28, 33–35).

Thus there is not a spark of evidence that Josephus puts Acra at B; all the evidence in the "Wars" puts it at A. Captain Conder has yet to show that the City of David was near the Holy Sepulchre.

Suppose, however, that the City of David was at B. Captain Conder also says the Upper City formed part of the City of David, because Josephus in his "Wars" says David named the Upper City *φρούριον*. (Here Josephus makes another *wrong* statement, which he afterwards honestly corrects in 7 "Ant.," iii, 1, where he names the citadel of the Jebusites *ἄκρα*). And further, Captain Conder admits that "the sepulchres of David" (Neh. iii, 16) were on Ophel, but says that we are not to understand that David was buried in this part, but that these were in "the field of the burial of the kings" where Uzziah was buried. It has, however, been twice pointed out (1881, pp. 95, 327) that the Bible states that Uzziah was buried "in the City of David."

Therefore, while Captain Conder is both forced to allow, as the consequence of his own statements, that the City of David took in the three parts, A, B, and the Upper City, and while he maintains that the field of the burial of the kings was in A—*i.e.*, that there were old Jewish tombs in A—he still most inconsistently and strangely (without excavating all over *the three*, or even taking a peep at the tombs in A, whose former existence has been acknowledged) propounds as a *fact* the impossible theory that the Tomb of Nicodemus is the Tomb of David.

Webster states that some *facts* are *false*. Surely this must be one.

The evidence that Zion, the City of David, was solely and entirely on Ophel (so called) seems to me simply irresistible.

In Nehemiah we have (1) David's sepulchres; (2) David's house, and (3, 4) the stairs of the City of David (iii, 15; xii, 37) all placed on Ophel. Those who reject this position either ignore iii, 16, or contradict themselves.

In 2 Chronicles xxxiii, 14, we have (5) the City of David placed on Ophel, because a wall on the west side of Gihon (*i.e.*, Virgin's Fountain) in the valley (*nachal*, *i.e.*, the Kidron ravine) is described as outside the City of David. This would be absurd if the latter did not stand on Ophel.

In 2 Chronicles xxxii, 30, the water from Gihon being carried through the hill to Ain Silwân, is said to be brought straight down to the west side of the City of David; this (6) places the latter on Ophel. The words, however, may perhaps admit of being translated *westwards to* the City of David, as if the Upper City were intended. Since, however, the Valley of Hinnom was on the south side of the Jebusite (*i.e.*, of the Castle of Zion), and this valley has been proved to be that reaching from the Jaffa Gate by Robinson's Arch to Siloam, it is quite impossible for the Upper City to have been the *Castle* or City of David, as the Valley of Hinnom would thus be on its *north* and not on its south side (1882, p. 55).

In Psalm xlviii, 2, as expounded by the Rabbis (whom Lightfoot curiously misunderstands), *Mount Zion* (*i.e.*, the Temple, as in 1 Macc.) is described as on the *north* side of the city of the great king, *i.e.*, the City of David. This passage (7) places it on Ophel. A single direct statement in the Bible would be quite enough to settle the position of the City of David. We have, however, not merely *one* but *seven*, all consistent with one another, and *five* of them applicable only to a position on Ophel so called. Further, 1 Macc. distinctly means by Mount Zion the Temple on the eastern hill, and places Acra, or the City of David, near it, but at a lower elevation, which suits Ophel (so called) exactly; and here alone, as we see, Josephus puts his Acra.

Unfortunately this inaccurate writer has been too implicitly trusted, and due regard has not been paid to one important point, viz., that while in the historical parts of the Bible Zion means only the City of David, it may also mean in other parts either the Temple (*i.e.*, the Mount of Zion of 1 Macc.) or even Jerusalem in general. In deference to Josephus, the City of David has by some been taken to mean Jerusalem as a whole; while the Bible is most precise in its use of these terms, showing thereby that they are not convertible. For instance, more than twenty times it is said of one or another king that he *reigned in Jerusalem*, but was *buried in the City of David.*

Controversy about the position of this famous spot is now as good as dead. The site on Ophel will of course by some be contradicted, but he must be rash indeed who ventures to give his reasons for rejecting it.

As it has long been admitted that four statements in Nehemiah certainly seem to place the City of David on Ophel, no apology appears to be needed for maintaining with the utmost possible confidence that the correct site is that which the Bible itself points out.

Two deeply interesting questions remain—(1) Why was the castle of Zion built on the lowest hill at Jerusalem? and (2) In what precise spot are we to excavate in search of the Sepulchres of David?

W. F. Birch.

THE ENTRANCE TO THE TOMB OF DAVID.

The Sepulchres of David are mentioned in Nehemiah iii, 16, in such a manner that in *Quarterly Statement*, 1877, p. 199, it seemed to me certain that they were excavated on Ophel (so called). I have never since that time doubted this point.

It was desirable, however, to point out their probable position on that hill, and this was a difficult question, as it depended upon the position of the *Pool of Siloah*, and the pool that was made, between which two Nehemiah iii, 16, obviously places them.

In *Quarterly Statement*, 1877, p. 202, I gave the reasons which seemed to compel me to identify these two pools with the two Pools of Siloam of the present day. This conclusion required me to place the Sepulchres of David on the southern extremity of Ophel. I afterwards (1879, p. 178) *distinctly abandoned* this position for the following reason. Accidentally it became clear to me that the City of David was solely and entirely on Ophel and that for Isaiah viii, 6, to have any meaning the waters of Shiloah (1878, p. 188) must have had to do with the Virgin's Fount. As, however, I rightly failed to see that the rock-cut tunnel to 'Ain Silwân existed in the time of Ahaz, it seemed impossible to apply to the same locality *all* the various passages where Shiloah, Siloah, and Siloam occur in the Bible and Josephus. In pardonable ignorance of the true explanation (*supra* 106), I was forced to disunite these names, and *assumed* a position for the Pool of Shiloah a little south of Robinson's Arch, and to avoid some difficulties, which need not now be specified, I placed *the pool that was made* at the present upper Pool of Siloam. On the further *assumption* that the Sepulchres of David were in the *malaki*, it was shown on a plan (1881, p. 99) where they ought to be looked for.

The true solution of the Siloam difficulty at once upset this my *second* position. Baffled, but not disheartened, I have at once to begin afresh. Experience and time have, however, taught me something. One may be certain now that 'Ain Silwân very fairly represents the position of Siloah; the city of David was on Ophel; the watergate (Neh. iii, 26) need not have been near the Virgin's Fountain; while either here or more to the south on Ophel, but certainly not at the lower Pool of Siloam, we *must* fix "the pool that was made." The King's pool was, in all probability, the present lower Pool of Siloam. I venture now on a *third* site for the entrance to the Tomb of David. It seems to me to be within an area 450 feet long, by 50 broad, one longer side coinciding with the track along the ridge of Ophel, and its breadth reaching about 40 feet down its eastern side. The southern end of the area is about halfway between the Virgin's Fountain and 'Ain Silwân. Good reasons for this position I hope to give in the next number.

W. F. Birch.

THE NAMELESS CITY, AND SAUL'S JOURNEY TO AND FROM IT.

I SCARCELY like to intrude into the discussion of a matter confessedly so perplexing, but knowing how much the Rev. W. F. Birch values the *expression* of different views, I do venture to ask his consideration of the following points, which have suggested themselves to me in studying his paper on "The Nameless City" in the January *Quarterly Statement.* I must ask him and you to pardon me if, from any want of knowledge of what the learned have written on this subject, I seem to be endeavouring to bring to life the "thrice slain."

In regard to Saul's journey, his starting-point is not mentioned in the narrative, but we are told that having "passed through" the hill-country (*Mount*, A.V.) of Ephraim, the land of Shalisha, the land of Shalim, and the land of the Benjamites, they then "came to" the land of Zuph. It was when they thus "came to" it, contrasted with the expresssion used before, that they had "passed through" the land of Shalisha, &c., that the Nameless City was near.

Does not this show that the city, if it was *in* the land of Zuph, was only just over the border?

Surely, too, 1 Sam. ix, 4, shows that the "land of Zuph" was not *in* the "land of the Benjamites," which they had "passed through," and if we may take the "land of Benjamin" as equivalent to the "land of the Benjamites," then verse 16 shows that the *city* was not *in* the "land of the Benjamites" or of Benjamin, for the Lord had told Samuel that he would send him a man "*out of the land of Benjamin.*"

May not this verse simply mean (taken in connection with the route named in verse 4) that the "land of Benjamin" was the last district Saul had passed through, and not necessarily that it was that whence he originally started?

In regard to his journey after leaving Samuel, does not chapter x, 13, 14, show that the *Gibeah* (the high place) to which he came, called in verse 5, A.V., the "*Hill of God*," was *not* the place whence he started, seeing that in verse 14, and again in verses 15, 16, Saul's uncle is prominently referred to, but there is no mention made of his father? Might not the absence of all mention of his father indicate that Saul did not then return to his father's city? or must we suppose that verse 14, &c., refer to his visit to Gilgal, as commanded in verse 8, and that this was subsequent to his return home?

Is it possible that the Gilgal of verse 8 was the same as the Mizpeh of verse 17, &c., where Saul was chosen by lot? (See also chapter xi, 14.)

As to Saul's *destination*, chapter x, 26, tells us that "Saul *went home* to Gibeah." Are we not justified, then, in considering *this* to have been his *father's city*, whence he started to seek the asses, and the same place to which chapter xi, 4, says the messengers from Jabesh Gilead came to Saul after he had been chosen king?

Why does Mr. Birch prefer the *Beit Jâla* hill to Beit Sahur, which Mr. Trelawney Saunders gives in the Old Testament Map as the position of Ramah and Ramathaim-zophim?

In 1 Sam. i, 1, the *same name* is given to the country with which Ramathaim-zophim is in some way connected, as that of the first region Saul and his servant searched for the lost asses. Would Mr. Birch suppose the reading in verse 4 of chapter ix to be an error also?

Whatever may be the precise meaning of the whole of verse 1 of chapter i, verse 19 shows that Elkanah was living at Ramah before the birth of Samuel, while verses 21, 22, and verse 11 of chapter ii, show, I think, that the infancy of Samuel was certainly passed at Ramah; consequently No. 2 of Mr. Birch's "explanations" on page 52 cannot hold good.

The whole difficulty seems to arise out of chapter x, 2.

I should, therefore, like to ask Mr. Birch's opinion of the admissibility of the reading which Mr. Shapira, in the "Athenæum" of August 5th, 1882, says is that found in an Arabic Commentary of which he is there treating.

Mr. Shapira gives it thus (I add the opening clause): "When thou art departed from me to-day thou shalt find 'at Zelzah, in the border of Benjamin, two men *from* Rachel's sepulchre,'" &c.

Taking this reading, might not the easiest mode of reconciling *all* points be to suppose that "the Nameless City" of chapter ix = Ramah of chapter i, 19, and chapter ii, 11 = Ramathaim-zophim of chapter i, 1, while situated *near* the land of Zuph, was yet in the hill country of Ephraim, and, in fact, was the Ramah mentioned in Judges iv, 5, 6, comparing especially with this passage 1 Sam. x, 3, where both Bethel and Tabor are mentioned?

I have not had time to work out Saul's home route in accordance with this supposition, but I should like to know from Mr. Birch if there is any insuperable objection to it.

H. B. S. W.

In regard to the points raised by H. B. S. W. I would observe—

(1) That it seems to me that the city was certainly in the land of Zuph, and (whether in or outside Benjamin) close to the border.

(2) I am not sure that 1 Sam. ix, 4, proves that the land of Zuph was not in the land of Benjamin, nor am I sure that ix, 16, makes it certain that the city was outside Benjamin. This point raised by H. B. S. W. is important. I have not seen it anywhere argued out, but if it can be satisfactorily made out, it will be a clear gain to have it established that the city was outside the tribe of Benjamin.

We have a similar difficulty in regard to the Cave of Adullam. David's parents dwelt with the King of Moab all the while that David (1 Sam. xxii, 4) was in the *hold*. There would have been no need for their doing so, if the hold had been in Moab. Therefore we conclude it was not in

that country, but identical with the *hold* named in connection with the Cave of Adullam (2 Sam. xxiii, 14).

If this cave was either near the city of Adullam (Josephus, 6 "Ant.," xii, 3, but not 7, xii, 4; 7, iv, 1), or in Wâdy Khureitun (as tradition seems to me rightly to maintain), then the *hold* was certainly within the tribe of Judah. But if to David (1 Sam. xxii, 5), while he was (strictly speaking) in the land of Judah, it could be said, "Abide not in the hold; depart, and get thee into the land of Judah," there is no reason why to Samuel, living at Ramah in the land of Benjamin, it might not also be said, "I will send thee a man out of the land of Benjamin." If this argument is deceptive, perhaps the fallacy will be pointed out.

It seems, however, to me that (*a*) it is quite possible that, if Ramah was on the border of Benjamin, but still within it, a person might be said to have gone through the land of Benjamin when he got close to it; and that (*b*) with Ramah so placed within Benjamin, a person might still be said to be sent to Ramah from the land of Benjamin; and (*c*) that as the boundaries of the tribes were not always strictly observed (Joseph or Ephraim seized Bethel, which was really in Benjamin, Judges i, 22; Josh. xviii, 22; 1 Chron. vii, 28), it is quite possible that Ramah was, strictly speaking, in the territory originally allotted to Benjamin, and yet had become alienated to the Kohathite Levites or to Judah. On this point I wish to keep an open mind, and when it is made out I shall cheerfully give up Beit Jâla as Ramah, since the position of Rachel's Sepulchre seems to me certain; and with this point fixed, the waters of Nephtoah must be the springs near Solomon's Pools; and after this I do not see how originally Beit Jâla can have escaped being in Benjamin, if the boundary is drawn in a reasonable manner. Further, against this view it is a common thing in Hebrew for the narrative to go back (Judges xx, 35, 36; 1 Sam. xx, 22), so that 1 Sam. ix, 5, may relate what happened in the land of Zuph, even while this was the very part where they finished going through the land of Benjamin.

(3) I think Saul started from Gibeah, but I do not see that the precise point of departure affects the position of the other places. Kish, who seems at this time to have been rather nervous (ix, 5; x, 2), might easily be lost sight of behind Abner, like Bethuel behind Laban (Gen. xxiv, 29, 50), though the cases are not quite parallel.

(6) I think Saul's care for his father would make him go home at once.

(7) Hardly. "Go *down* to Gilgal" (x, 8), and the position of Mizpah at Neby Samwîl seem to forbid the identity of the two.

(8) I believe Saul's destination was Gibeah (of Saul), within a mile of Kh. Adasah, east of Gibeon.

(9) I object to Beit Sahur as being Ramah because, first, Mr. Saunders' route, drawn through the desert from Jericho, is *all but entirely through Judah*, and not Benjamin (1 Sam. ix, 4); and next, if Mr. Saunders chose to change the route to one from the west, then 1 Sam. ix, 5, &c., does not seem to me to allow of Saul having passed (close to) Bethlehem, which he must have done to get to Beit Sahur.

(10) No.

(11) I do not see that the objection is sound. Elkanah certainly lived at a Ramah (1 Sam. i, 19), called Ramathaim-zophim in 1 Sam. i, 1; and next, Samuel (as it seems clear to me) met Saul at a Ramah, which was not in Mount *Ephraim*, but south of Jerusalem. If Mount *Ephraim* is still to stand in 1 Sam. i, 1, then it seems to me explanation (2) is possible, though I reject it, because moving from one Ramah to another seems far more improbable than a slight alteration of the text.

(12) Mr. Shapira's reading no more commends itself to me than his pottery. "Rachel's Sepulchre" does not seem to me a likely name for a village.

(13) The proposal to identify Samuel's Ramah with the Ramah of Judges iv, 5, seems to me open to grave objections. Ramah (Judges iv, 5) is commonly taken to be Er Ram, and rightly so, I think. 2 Sam. xx, 1, 21, shows that part of Mount Ephraim was in Benjamin. It seems unnecessary, therefore, to look for another Ramah besides Er Ram near Bethel. With Er Ram (in *Benjamin*) for Samuel's Ramah, the objection about the city not being in Benjamin directly clashes, and he must abandon one of his two proposals. The *real* objection, however, is that Saul did not know Samuel by sight, while Er Ram is certainly within three miles of any possible position of Gibeah of Saul (his home).

May 22nd, 1883. W. F. Birch.

P.S.—If there had been a high hill between Bethlehem and Solomon's Pools, and near it old tombs, and a well or cistern in the valley on the west side, then I should have preferred this position to Beit Jâla, and H. B. S. W.'s point would be satisfied.

WELSH CROMLECHS NEAR BARMOUTH.

Allow me to give a brief account of some cromlechs near here. They are at "Dyffryn" ("valley," or "plain"). They stand on the slope of a hill on the right of the road from Barmouth. This hill slopes towards the sea, and south-west. The hill is uncultivated—a waste covered with scanty gorse bushes and brambles; a small but strong spring runs down the slope, and near the cromlechs. There are two, one larger than the other common to both, a large flat stone is supported on several upright stones; these last are mere wedges, or slabs of unequal shape. The flat stone which rests on them is much thicker. I could see no tool marks anywhere; the strata of the rock showed all over; it would be easy to pass under the large upper stone and the lower floor. The floor had in the centre a small flat slab, laid level, though the upper slab of the smaller cromlech sloped to the south-west, and the upper slab of the larger one sloped to the north-east. Near these cromlechs are circles of rude stones, piled in heaps; their number and

their order (extending up the hill and round the cromlechs) show that the arrangement was not accidental. Some short distance away, on higher ground, in a rude road or trackway, is shown a flat stone, on which there is a supposed footprint, called *Llan Maria* ("Mary's Step, or Stride"). The impression is about natural size. The tradition is that "Mary" put her foot on this rock, and then strode to the lower hill, a hill lying below, called *Bwlch Gau* ("the false hill"), which is covered with roots of *oak* trees. Remains of an old "altar" are said to have existed here quite recently, but are now removed. A trackway leading to this hill is called *Hwylfa 'R-Llwyn* ("the Grove Lane").

More than a mile away is a cromlech, dalled *Coetan Arthur* ("Arthur's Quoit"), the tradition being that this was a stone "Arthur" threw. On this stone are the reputed marks of "Arthur's" fingers.

Cromlechs and stone circles abound at this place ; on the hills are found *Maen-Hias* (*maen*, "stone ;" *hia*, "long" or "erect"). Lower down, and near a village, there are two maenhirs, one a very fine one ; the tradition is that the smaller goes round the larger when it hears the church bell.

I was much struck by the walls dividing the fields on the hills near the cromlechs and footprint. The enclosures are much smaller than the usual Welsh fields ; the coast-line, with its sandhills, its plain, and then the deep blue sea, bright blue sky, and sunshine above me, so brought back to my mind the coast-line from Jaffa to Acre, that the thought occurred to me that these cromlechs, stone circles, and walls were the efforts of a people, immigrants from that Eastern land, trying to reproduce in the land of their adoption the aspects of the old home.

To sum up, we have, first, cromlechs so resembling those of Moab, that the published plate of that one at 'Amman would pass for a fair representation of those at Dyffryn. Secondly, the circles of rude stones piled in heaps. Thirdly, the footprint on the rock, and that, like the Eastern legend, a FEMALE foot. Fourthly, the finger-print—"Arthur's Fingers,"—the MALE hand ; Eastern legend again. Then the spring of water, the curious name for the hill, and the lane !

The cromlechs and maenhirs found in such numbers in Moab, in upper Galilee—in mountain regions only—so strongly resemble the Welsh ones that they point, I think, to a common origin. Call the race what you will —Hittite or Phœnician—at any rate it was an Eastern race, and a race of mountaineers.

HENRY A. HARPER.

THE JERUSALEM YEAR BOOK.

THE first number of a Jerusalem Year Book has been issued by the Rabbi A. M. Luncz for the year 1882, and is intended to be continued if sufficient support can be obtained. The work is half in Hebrew, half in English.

The latter part contains an amount of statistics and general information which will be found most valuable. The following notes are taken from its pages.

The Market Days in the towns of Palestine are as follows: —

Jenin, every Tuesday.

Gaza, every Friday.

Hebron, every Friday.

Jaffa, every Friday.

Jerusalem, every Friday. (Cattle market, to which from 40 to 80 oxen and cows are brought for sale.)

Lydda, every Monday. (Cattle market, to which, besides oxen and sheep, horses, asses, camels, and mules, are also brought for sale. About 200 head of cattle come to market.)

Ramleh, every Wednesday. Only cattle market.

Suk Elihun, every Monday. All sorts of animals, of which there are sometimes 2,000 head, are sold here. Other goods—for instance, Bedouin clothing, &c.—are also brought for sale. This market day is the most important one in the country.

Safed, every Friday. Only grain sold. (This market day is already mentioned in an account of a journey made in the year 5282 (1522). This account is printed at the end of the book "Shabche Jerusalem").

Weights and Measures:—

1 rottle = 12 ukieh.

1 ukieh[1]) = 75 dirhem (drachms).

There is no smaller denomination of weight; the ukieh, however, is divided into $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, &c.

1 jarra, used for measuring olive- and Sesame-oil, contains, if used for measuring olive-oil, 81 ukiehs, and if for Sesame-oil, 65 ukiehs.

1 timniyeh or tubbeh, about 8 rottle, used for measuring corn.

1 kantar = 100 rottles. With the exception of the two last denominations (jarra and timneh) those given above are used as weights.

In the villages grain is also sold by the saah = $\frac{1}{4}$, timneh, and the midd = 4 timneh.

The coinage used are the piastre and its fractions; the beshlik = 5 piastres, the wuzari = 3 piastres, the altilik = 6 piastres, and the medjidie = 20 piastres. As 110 piastres are equivalent to 1*l.* sterling, the piastre is worth 2*d.*

The city contains, besides three hotels, many hospices for pilgrims. The Casa Nuova offers lodging for one month. The Austrian Hospice, and that of the Knights of St. John, receive pilgrims, and give them board and lodging for thirty days. The Armenian Convent, the Greek Convent, and the Coptic Khan limit their hospitality to fifteen days. For Jews there

[1] = about 250 grammes.

are pilgrim houses for natives of Austria, Holland, and Germany, together with "houses for strangers," in the Jewish quarter. The different churches are represented by an Armenian, a Greek, and a Latin Patriarch; by a Coptic and a Syrian Bishop; by a Russian Archimandrite; by a Jewish "Chacham Baschi;" and by a Mohammedan Cadi. The Jews, who are divided into Sephardim, Ashkenazim - Peruschim, Hassidim, and Moghrabim, have four synagogues for the first sect, one for the second, one for the third, and five for the fourth. They have also sixty "houses of prayer and study," most of them called "Colleges," or else bearing poetical titles, such as "Fear of Isaac," "Grace of the Lord," "Glory of the Humble," "Tent of Moses," "Comfort of Zion," the "Crown of Fame," and so on.

There are twenty-one societies for religious purposes among the Jews. One of these is for preserving the books in the Colleges, another for the promotion of kindness and truth, and another (the number of its members is not given) consists of "those who are free from worldly affairs." Next there are the Jewish charitable societies and seven industrial societies—two near Jaffa, and the rest in or near Jerusalem.

As regards the sects, the Sephardim speak a language of which the basis is Spanish: it is called "Ladino;" the Moghrabim, a language whose basis is Arabic; and the Sephardim, a mixture of Hebrew and German called "Yiddish." A very minute account is given of the Jews in Jerusalem: their occupations, the distribution of the "Haluka," or alms collected in the synagogues all over the world, their schools and colleges, the society called the Mikveh Israel. It is to be hoped that the next year's volume will contain statistics, as careful and exact, of the Mohammedan and Christian communities. The number of pilgrims in the year 1880 was 6,753, of whom 1,510 were Russians, 1,618 Greeks, 1,271 Armenians, 93 Syrians, 430 Jews, and the rest Protestants and Catholics, and, as nearly as can be made out, about 800 of the former to 1,000 of the latter.

The "Year Book" is recommended to those who take an interest in the affairs of modern Jerusalem. It must, however, be pointed out that it is at present too exclusively Jewish. The Hebrew portion of the work contains a paper on modern Jewish towns in Palestine, to which we shall perhaps refer in the next number.